THE RUSSIAN REVIEW

An American Quarterly Devoted to Russia Past and Present

JANUARY

1960

Vol. 19, No. 1 *Price $1.25*

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THE RUSSIAN REVIEW

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The purpose of *The Russian Review* is to interpret the real aims and aspirations of the Russian people, as distinguished from and opposed to Soviet Communism, and to advance general knowledge of Russian culture, history and civilization. The Review invites contributions by authors of divergent views, but the opinions expressed in any individual article of this journal are not necessarily those of the editors.

Copyright 1960 by the Russian Review, Inc., 235 Baker Library, Hanover, N. H. Published quarterly in January, April, July and October. Entered as second class matter at the post office in Hanover, N. H., under the Act of March 3, 1897. Additional entry at the post office in Deep River, Conn. Subscription rates: $5.00 a year in the United States; Canada $5.50; foreign $6.00; single issues through Vol. 12, $1.00; subsequent single issues $1.25. Cumulative Index to Vols. I-X (Nov. 1941, Oct. 1951), $.75 per copy. The contents of this publication cannot be reprinted without permission of the editors. Unsolicited manuscripts will not be returned unless accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes.

Old Struggle; New Tactics

By William Henry Chamberlin

The relaxation of Stalin's "iron curtain" regime, the growing, although strictly limited cultural contacts between the Soviet Union and the West, the visits of Macmillan and Nixon to the Soviet Union, of Mikoyan, Kozlov, and Khrushchev to the United States, – all point up to the fact that new tactics are being used in the old struggle between the Communist and non-Communist camps.

From the moment when the Bolshevik leaders seized power forty-two years ago amid the tragic chaos of what some Russians call "the crazy year," 1917, they proclaimed their belief that the Russian Revolution was no isolated Russian phenomenon. Lenin and his associates in their obscure émigré publications had always upheld the thesis that the Russian Revolution would succeed or fail, depending upon its ability to extend its principles and institutions to other lands.

What is overlooked by those who cast all the initial blame for hostile feeling between the Communist regime in Russia and the West on the short-lived, half-hearted, and ineffective military intervention during 1918 and 1919 is that a government which declared unrelenting war on "bourgeois" or non-Communist governments could scarcely hope at the same time to win acceptance as a friendly member of the community of nations. Perhaps this declaration of war was phrased most clearly by the founding father of the Soviet Republic, Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin, when he told the members of the Eighth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, in 1919:

"The existence of the Soviet Republic beside the imperialist states during a lengthy period of time is inconceivable. In the end one or the other will win. And before this result a series of most terrible conflicts between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is unavoidable."

Soviet leaders now are not so outspoken. Although there is

no reason to doubt that foreign Communist movements, in one way or another, get assistance from Moscow, the details of this assistance are not put on public record, as was the case when *Izvestiya*, on December 26, 1917, published the following Soviet decree under the signatures of Lenin as President of the Council of People's Commissars and Trotsky, as Commissar for Foreign Affairs:

"Taking into consideration that the Soviet regime stands on the platform of the principles of international solidarity of the proletariat and of the brotherhood of the workers of all countries, that struggle against war and imperialism can lead to complete victory only on an international scale, the Council of People's Commissars considers it necessary to come to the aid of the Left, Internationalist wing of the working-class movement of all countries with all possible resources, including money, quite irrespective of whether these countries are at war or in alliance with Russia or whether they occupy a neutral position.

"For this purpose the Council of People's Commissars decides to place at the disposal of the foreign representatives of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs two million rubles for the needs of the revolutionary Internationalist movement."

Although such frankness has long vanished from official Soviet communications, there is mountainous evidence that this first publicly announced contribution of two million rubles of dubious exchange value has been far exceeded by the appropriations required to finance the huge Soviet international network of espionage, intelligence, and subversion.

In this matter of seeking by all means to undermine, weaken and, when possible, subvert non-Communist societies Soviet deeds have fully matched Soviet words. Every method has been tried: systematic organized propaganda directed from a guiding center in Moscow, assassination and terror, the organization of fifth column groups in other countries, and military force.

Military force on a big scale was ruled out during the first decades of the Soviet regime by the economic weakness of the country. It was freely used, however, to subdue non-Russian territories where the people had preferred non-Communist gov-

ernments and, unsuccessfully at that time, to conquer Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia and to try to impose Communist rule on Poland. A plan to go to the aid of Bela Kun's Communist dictatorship in Hungary was frustrated because of widespread peasant uprisings in the Ukraine in the spring of 1919.

In the early years of Soviet rule main reliance was placed on propaganda and subversion, organized through the Communist International. This touched off some rebellions, riots and outbreaks, but did not bring about any successful revolution on the Soviet model.

Stalin's deal with Hitler for the partition of Eastern Europe marked the beginning of the application of the military force method of extending the frontier of Communism. This led directly to the annexation of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Eastern Poland to the Soviet Union; there were territorial gains at the expense of Finland as a result of the war with that country in the winter of 1939-40.

After the end of the Second World War a new technique for the expansion of Communist power was employed. The Red Army had occupied a line reaching well into Germany and Austria. The territory east of that line (with the exception of the Soviet Zone of Austria) was forcibly Communized by a series of seizures of power by local Communists, masterminded from Moscow and made possible by the presence (or in the case of Czechoslovakia) of the threat of the Red Army forces.

Up to the death of Stalin in 1953 a state of extreme tension prevailed between the Soviet Union and the Western powers and became known as the cold war. There were actual hostilities, with heavy loss of life, as a result of the invasion of South Korea by a North Korean army outfitted to the last item of equipment by the Soviet Union. And the Soviet blockade of West Berlin in 1948-49 carried a grave threat of war, although the blockade was finally defeated by the spectacular airlift which brought food and essential supplies to the isolated city.

Stalin's rule after the war was also marked by an almost hermetically sealed isolation of the Soviet Union from the outside world. The few foreigners who were allowed to live in the Soviet Union were placed under close police surveillance. There

were extreme restrictions on travel by foreigners. A childish campaign was launched to prove that Russia had been "first" with almost every important discovery and invention.

After Stalin's death his political successors, among whom Khrushchev proved to be the ultimate heir to his power, decided on some abatements and relaxations of the more extreme aspects of his tyranny. Many prisoners were discharged from concentration camps. The more extreme and obvious methods of police observation of foreign embassies were suspended. Whereas Stalin never mixed with foreigners on intimate terms, Khrushchev and his associates introduced the innovation of making themselves accessible to newspapermen as well as diplomats at receptions and cocktail parties.

There was much talk of the desirability of closer cultural relations with the non-Communist part of the world. And, while many restrictions and reservations still exist, there has been unmistakable progress from the state of total seclusion which Stalin had imposed. Scientific and scholarly congresses have been held in the Soviet Union and Soviet participation in such congresses abroad has been much more extensive. Foreigners were once more allowed to visit the Soviet Union as tourists. This practice had begun in the late twenties and early thirties. It was suspended at the time of the purges in 1935-37 and was not resumed during Stalin's lifetime.

Apart from the casual tourist, there was provision for exchange visits between groups with specialized interests, engineers and agricultural experts, professors and students, musicians, orchestras, ballet-dancers.

The proportions of this cultural interchange fall far short of what goes on without attracting particular attention between the United States and the countries of Western Europe. Nor is the Soviet Union an "open country" in the sense of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, where the inquiring American, with extremely few exceptions dictated by genuine military security, may go anywhere and talk with whom he pleases.

Some important cities and areas in the Soviet Union are barred to the foreign visitor altogether. The details of his trip are arranged by Intourist, the state organization which looks

after foreign tourists; the views of the majority of foreign visitors who are not fluent in the Russian language are apt to be shaped by Intourist guides who are carefully trained in propaganda. Although Soviet citizens are now much freer from overshadowing fear of denunciation and arrest than they were in Stalin's time, difficulties of establishing contacts with Russians are considerable, if only for technical reasons. Even in Moscow there is no readily accessible telephone book.

The picture which the outside world receives of Soviet life from newspaper dispatches and radio broadcasts is blurred and distorted because it comes through a censor's lenses. Even in the post-Stalin period censorship of outgoing news is rigorously maintained and there is still stricter control over what Soviet citizens may read. The only foreign newspapers on sale in the Soviet Union are Communist Party publications. Foreign radio broadcasts are jammed systematically at considerable expense.

Whereas any foreigner who can obtain a Soviet visa may visit the Soviet Union, the Soviet citizen who wants to go abroad is carefully checked for political reliability before he is given a passport for foreign travel. This accounts for the fact that the number of Soviet citizens who have visited the United States is much smaller than the number of American travelers in the Soviet Union. It also furnishes the background for one of the latest Soviet anecdotes:

This represents a Soviet professor as enthusiastically telling his students that they will soon be able to visit various planets, because of Soviet achievements in the space age. Whereupon one student timidly inquires: "But, Professor, when will we be able to visit Vienna?"

Imperfect as it is and heavily weighted against genuine reciprocity, the present phase of Soviet-Western contacts is a considerable advance over the blank wall of isolation that existed under Stalin. Both sides have gone over to more flexible tactics. Which side will benefit more by the abandonment, for the time being at least, of the harsher methods of the cold war?

The advantages which Khrushchev hopes to gain are obvious. His visit to the United States, the prospective visit to the Soviet

Union of President Eisenhower, the "summit" conference which has now been generally agreed on in principle, are all calculated to enhance his international prestige, to convey a sense of permanence to the huge empire which Stalin built up and Khrushchev hopes to conserve.

At the time of the Geneva meeting of Soviet and Western heads of government in 1955 newspapers in the Soviet satellite countries played up very prominently pictures of Khrushchev and his partner at that time, Bulganin, in friendly talks with Eisenhower and Sir Anthony Eden. The moral was clear: if the principal Western statesmen are on friendly terms with the Soviet leaders, what is the use of thinking of resistance?

Khrushchev is by nature an extrovert showman and, despite his occasional real or simulated fits of rage, he most probably enjoyed on the whole the opportunity to try out his arts as a propagandist on American audiences. Rightly or not, he probably reckoned on the short memories of people in democratic countries and hoped that his professions of desire for peace and his speeches, seasoned with homely peasant proverbs ("Every duck will praise his own marsh," for instance) would obliterate memories of Hungary and the more recent threats to West Berlin.

The Soviet decision to lift very slightly the iron curtain of cultural isolation (while pretending to lift it entirely) seems to have been inspired by two considerations. Although improvement in everyday living standards lags far behind the growth of military power, there has been sufficient recovery from the bleak hardships of the years immediately after the war to give foreign tourists, carefully shepherded and directed to the most favorable sights, a fairly favorable impression. There is also, according to the general testimony of recent visitors to Russia, a very keen interest in everything Western, from automobiles to latest jazz recordings; and some concession to this interest is calculated to make the government more popular.

That there are dangers to the West in the softer Soviet tactical line, dangers of a letdown in vigilance, of more indulgence in the luxury of divergent policies, of unwillingness to make the sacrifices which security requires, is unmistakable. It is just be-

cause of these considerations that the Kremlin decided to put on the softer line. At the same time there are also opportunities in even the very guarded and limited enlargement of personal and cultural contacts with the outside world. The standard Soviet propaganda stereotype of an America plagued with unemployment and poverty for the many, excessive wealth for the few, will be undermined if and as more Russians see America and more Americans visit the Soviet Union.

And there are several contradictions in the present Soviet ideological posture that should prove vulnerable both to an increase in personal contacts between Soviet and Western citizens and to the more organized effort of broadcasts in Russian by such organizations as the Voice of America and the Committee for Liberation.

One such contradiction is the Soviet reiteration of the slogan "peace," without any corresponding effort to remove causes of hostility and mistrust. Another is the stifling restraints (censorship of foreign books and newspapers, severe restrictions on the travel of Soviet citizens abroad) that make a mockery of the professed Soviet government desire for freer cultural interchange. A third is the contrast between the theory of "coexistence" and many authoritative dogmas of Lenin and Stalin which point to the inevitability of ultimate conflict. Still another is the curious contrast, which must strike all but the dullest of Soviet citizens, between the constant denigration of America, only recently and slightly abated, and the admission implied in the continual urging to work hard in order to "catch up with" America.

In an early phase of the Second World War, French Prime Minister Paul Reynaud denied, with good reason as later events showed, the validity of the easy, optimistic assertion that time was on the side of France and Britain. "Time," said Reynaud, "is neutral. It is on the side of whoever makes the best use of it."

A similar observation probably holds good for the new tactics which are being employed in the old struggle of the cold war. Success will go to the side that employs these tactics more skillfully and energetically.

Darwinism, Scientism, and Nihilism[1]

By James Allen Rogers

The assumption of scientism that all beliefs are valid only in so far as they meet strict confirmation in the area of the natural sciences was a prevailing attitude of a large segment of the younger intelligentsia of the 1860's in Russia. This assumption carried to an extreme position merged imperceptibly with nihilism. The term "nihilism" was used in Russia in the first half of the nineteenth century, but it never assumed either popularity or precision until Turgenev infused vital life into the term in his famous and controversial novel of 1862, *Fathers and Sons.*

The conservatives were not slow in hurling this epithet against the young and radical thinkers. In the 1870's and 1880's with the unfolding of the revolutionary movement, nihilism erroneously came to be identified with terrorism and assassination. Nihilism was an intellectual phenomenon of the 1860's associated with the revolt of the younger generation against all established authority. Concerned at first with the emancipation of the individual personality from all restraints, nihilism was in the beginning basically apolitical. "Nihilism was a passionate and powerful reaction, not against political despotism," wrote Sergei Kravchinsky, "but against the moral despotism that weighs upon the private and inner life of the individual."[2] From this vigorous and unorganized movement, there arose those sometimes crude and unusually intense young men and women of the 1860's who declared war upon the conventional

[1]This study was made possible by a generous grant from the Russian Research Center at Harvard for an examination of the influence of Darwinism on Russian Social Thought. This essay is part of a forthcoming book on that subject.

[2]Sergei Kravchinsky, (pseudonym Stepniak), *Underground Russia,* (New York, 1883), 4.

lies of civilization, who exalted absolute and unflinching sincerity as an antidote to what they considered the hypocrisy of their society, who refused to bow to any idol but science. They expressed themselves philosophically in a rejection of all philosophy; they became positivists or agnostics or evolutionists or scientific materialists, or more usually, a confused combination of all or some of these tenets. They assumed a certain external roughness as a protest against the smooth amiability of their fathers and as a pose against bourgeois self-consciousness; this gave rise to the famous conflicts between fathers and sons so tenderly delineated in Turgenev's novel.

Alexander Herzen saw the origin of nihilism in the change which occurred in the reign of Nicholas I after the European revolutions of 1848:

> A dark night that lasted seven years fell upon Russia and in it that intellectual outlook, that way of thinking, that is called Nihilism took shape, developed and gained a firm hold on the Russian mind.
>
> Nihilism is logic without structure, it is science without dogmas, it is the unconditional submission to experience and the resigned acceptance of all consequences, whatever they may be, if they follow from observation, or are required by reason. Nihilism does not transform something into nothing, but shows that nothing which has been taken for something is an optical illusion and that every truth, however it contradicts our fantistic ideas, is more wholesome than they are, and is in any case what we are in duty bound to accept.[3]

Nihilism was strongly influenced by the almost universal revival of interest in the natural sciences in Europe. The large number of scientific discoveries dramatized the growth of the natural sciences and drew the attention of inquiring minds. Many important scientific works were translated and published in Russia in the late 1850's and had an influence on radical thought in Russia which can hardly be exaggerated.

In the wake of these scientific works came the inevitable popularizations which often extrapolated the results of limited and precise scientific investigations to broad generalizations about life and the cosmos. This gave rise to a type of scientism which became especially rampant in Germany in the middle of

[3]A. I. Gertsen (Herzen), *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii i pisem*, ed. by M. K. Lemke, (Moscow, 1923), xxi, 237.

the century. Buchner, Moleschott and Vogt are good examples of the exponents of scientism which was being revived in Germany after nearly a century of the ascendancy of idealism. This triumvirate based its materialist philosophy on the results of scientific research, especially that of physiology and psychology.

Ludwig Buchner, by far the most influential, thought in terms of force and matter as ultimate realities, when among serious scientists the term "matter" was being replaced by the accurately definable quantity "mass" and the term "force" was being shown to have been used in the past ambiguously to mean either "force" or "energy."[4]

Buchner's book, *Kraft und Stoff,* published in 1855 quickly went through eight editions in Europe. In Russia, despite the most severe official interdict, the book circulated everywhere. Old copies were passed from person to person and new copies were made by hand and by lithograph. *Kraft und Stoff* became the gospel of nihilism as Turgenev illustrated through the character of Bazarov in *Fathers and Sons.*

In the preface to his book, Buchner wrote that "The naturalist merely proves that there are no other forces in nature besides the physical, chemical, and mechanical and infers irresistibly that the organisms must also have been produced by these forces."[5]

It is not surprising that Buchner's work was acceptable neither to the representatives of the natural sciences nor to those of philosophy. But on less critical minds the result was devastating. After the long ascendancy of the complex and metaphysical German philosophy, materialism had a superficial simplicity which appealed to those impatiently grasping for the all-embracing truth.

When intellectual contact with Western Europe increased after the death of Nicholas I in 1855, these ideas generated by science and scientism were enthusiastically received in Russia by the intelligentsia. The reign of Nicholas I had not contributed

[4]J. T. Merz, *History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century,* (Edinburgh, 1907), iii, 564-565.

[5]Ludwig Buchner, *Force and Matter,* tr. by J. F. Collingwood, (London, 1864).

to a full-sided intellectual life and these ideas from the West were often subjected to extreme interpretation by less than critical minds. Moreover, there was a general reaction against the former concern with the highly speculative and idealistic German philosophy and the impact of this uncompromising materialism struck the younger generation as fresh and novel. The entrance of the *raznochintsy*[6] into the intelligentsia had also brought into the ranks of intellectuals persons of less sophisticated background. In 1857, V. P. Botkin wrote to Tolstoy:

> People who before this had never held a book in their hands are now beginning to read. Inner conflicts of the soul, poetry and an artistic element were accessible to a small minority only. To the majority of readers these things were incomprehensible. Now when there appears a literature that is simple and accessible to every member of this majority, it is evident that they will rush at it.[7]

The true fathers of Russian nihilism according to Michael Katkov, a former radical turned conservative, were the authors of the educational changes in the curriculum of the Russian gymnasia. After the European revolutions of 1848, the tsarist government, fearing the philosophical implications which might be inherent in the study of ancient languages and civilization, changed the emphasis in the gymnasia from classical studies to the study of natural science, mathematics, and law along with the perennial theology.[8]

Katkov was not incorrect in seeing a connection between the influence of the natural sciences and the growth of nihilism. The negative side of nihilism found its *raison d'être* in the philosophy which it read into the natural sciences. To the nihilist only the natural sciences dealt with facts untainted by human subjectivity, only in science could the answers to existence be found.

[6]Literally *raznochintsy* means "persons of various status," and etymologically derives from *chin* as used in Moscow before the introduction of the Table of Ranks of Peter the Great. For a study of the various ways this word has been used, see "*Raznochintsy*: The Development of the Word and of the Concept," by Christopher Becker, *The American Slavic and East European Review*, xviii, no. 1, 63-74.

[7]Paul Miliukov, *Outlines of Russian Culture*, ed. by Michael Karpovich, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948), II, 36.

[8]Thomas Darlington, *Education in Russia*, (London, 1909), 117.

Scientism became the major support of nihilism. In 1863 Dmitri Pisarev wrote:

> Only the natural sciences are deeply rooted in activity that is alive . . . Only in that field does no kind of reaction penetrate; only they form a sphere of pure knowledge; strangers to any kind of purpose, only the natural sciences consequently place man face to face with actual life, uncolored by the teachings of morality.[9]

To the young generation interested in the natural sciences, Pisarev (1840-1868) brought all the enthusiasm, all the negative faith, all the erudition of his young years. He came of an impoverished noble family. His mother was extremely nervous and this same instability was found in her children. As an adolescent, Pisarev displayed some rather alarming psychological symptoms. His sister Catherine committed suicide several years after his death and appears to have lived with the same impetuosity and dash as her brother.[10]

To show a basis for his scientism, it was first necessary for Pisarev to destroy belief in any realm which could not be measured by the methods of the natural sciences. In one of his earliest articles of 1861 on the idealism of Plato, Pisarev concluded that "an ideal is not even an abstract notion, but only a copy of another person."[11] Having rid the world of the abstract ideal, Pisarev proceeded in his next article (a review of Moleschott's *Physiological Sketches*) to show what spirit really is. He quoted with approval Moleschott's opening sentence: "In our time it would be strange to think that spirit does not depend upon matter."[12]

Several months later, Pisarev presented the manifesto of the nihilists to his readers:

> In a word, here is the ultimatum of our camp: what can be smashed must be smashed; whatever is able to withstand, let it stand; what flies into pieces is rubbish; in any case hit right and hit left, from that no evil can nor will come.[13]

[9]Dmitri Pisarev, *Sochineniia,* 6 vols., (St. Petersburg, 1897), iii, 107-108.

[10]The standard biographies of Pisarev are: E. Kazanovich, *D. I. Pisarev, 1840-1856,* (Petrograd, 1922); L. Plotkin, *D. I. Pisarev* (Leningrad, 1940); E. A. Solovev, *Dimitri I. Pisarev,* (Berlin, 1922); Armand Coquart, *Dmitri Pisarev (1840-1868) et l'idéologie du nihilisme russe,* (Paris, 1946).

[11]Pisarev, i, 267.

[12]*Ibid.,* i, 282.

[13]*Ibid.,* i, 375.

The gross emphasis on the physical sciences soon led Pisarev to a denial of free will, to a form of historical determinism, to the denial of aesthetics. It gave him a feeling of apathy for politics amounting almost to contempt. But a denunciation of Alexander Herzen by an agent of the tsarist police led Pisarev to prepare an article which concluded with a ringing, revolutionary cry: "The Romanov dynasty and the Petersburg bureaucracy must perish . . . That which is dead and rotting must by itself tumble into the grave. To us it remains only to give the last push and to throw mud upon the stinking corpses."[14] Pisarev was immediately arrested and interred from 1862 to 1866 in the Peter and Paul Fortress in St. Petersburg. To support his impoverished family, he was allowed to continue his writing. As Pisarev now had ample leisure time to read and to reflect, some of his best work came out of this period.

It was in prison that Pisarev came to the conclusion that science which at first had furnished a tool for the destruction of the old society and its beliefs had now become the great source of ideas for the future. "The natural sciences constitute in our time the most vital demand of our society," wrote Pisarev. "Whoever deflects youth from this matter is perniciously damaging the development of society."[15]

This was the intellectual milieu in which Darwin's *Origin of Species* made its appearance in a Russian translation in 1864.[16]

[14]This article was not published in the 1897 edition of Pisarev's works. It may be found in the Soviet edition: D. I. Pisarev, *Sochineniia*, 4 vols., (Moscow, 1955-1956), ii, 120-126. All other references to Pisarev's writings are to the 1897 edition.

[15]Pisarev, iii, 275.

[16]The first communication about Darwin's book (printed in London in 1859) appeared in Russia in 1860 in the *Bull. de la Soc. Nat. de Moscou,* 1860, Vol. 5, 130-132. Darwin's theory was mentioned by Professor S. S. Kutorga in his 1860 lectures in the University of St. Petersburg where they were heard by young K. A. Timiriazev, who wrote several articles for *Otechestvennue Zapiski* on the theme of critics and commentators of Darwin's theory in nos. 8, 10, and 12 in 1864. (These were later reprinted in his *Charlz Darvin i ego uchenie* which has gone through innumerable editions in Soviet Russia.) In 1860, a German translation from Darwin's first English edition was published in Stuttgart and quickly made its way to Russia where is was mentioned in Peter Kropotkin, *Perepiska,* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1932-33), ii, 114-124.

Pisarev wrote the first major review of the Russian edition the same year it appeared. He carefully compared the original English edition with the Russian translation and his review grew to the size of a small book. Of Darwin he wrote:

> Every educated man ought to be acquainted with this thinker, and therefore I consider it wise and useful to give our readers a clear and somewhat detailed explanation of his theory. In this theory the reader will find both the strict precision of the exact sciences and the boundless sphere of a philosophical generalization and finally the highest and most unadorned beauty which puts its imprint on all the great products of strong and healthy human thought. When the reader is acquainted with the ideas of Darwin — then I will ask him — was it intelligent or was it foolish when be began to deny metaphysics, to laugh at poetry and to express our complete contempt for our royal aesthetics? Darwin, Lyell and other such thinkers are our philosophers, our poets, the aesthetes of our time.[17]

The Darwinian controversy in Russia as in Europe went quickly beyond the world of science and became a focal point of philosophical and political disputes. It is surprising, therefore, how objectively Pisarev presented Darwin's ideas. There was little overt attempt to extrapolate from the animal world to the world of man nor to reinterpret such catch phrases as the "struggle for existence" or the "survival of the fittest." "To be born in this world," he commented, "this is a most simple trick, but to survive on this earth — this is quite clever . . ."[18] He saw natural selection as the basis of Darwin's theory.

> It is not difficult to understand that the organism best constructed for the struggle will hold its own. This proposition is completely obvious and on this proposition rests all progress of animals and plants and the whole theory of Darwin.[19]

The reason for Pisarev's complete acceptance of Darwin's theory is not difficult to find. Pisarev, like the other young materialists of the 1860's had looked to science for the answers to all facets of existence. But organic life seemed to elude any ultimate materialistic interpretation which left an opening for teleology and for religious explanations. What the young materialists wanted was a Newton in biology to unify the develop-

[17]Pisarev, iii, 316.
[18]*Ibid.*, iii, 342.
[19]*Ibid.*, iii, 354.

ment of all organic life under some simple materialistic and mechanistic law. Darwin's conception of natural selection seemed to offer that law. To the younger generation of the 1860's, Darwin's theory was the perfect support for their materialism, rational egoism, and historical determinism, and they received his *Origin of Species* with great enthusiasm.

If Pisarev tended in any way to read his own nihilist philosophy of scientism into Darwin, it was precisely along those lines. He could not openly espouse a completely materialistic interpretation of Darwin and so, sitting in his prison cell, he approached the question obliquely:

> All the varied forms of organisms existing on the earth, have descended by the influence of the conditions of life and by natural selection. Contemporary science is unable to show us how this happened in each particular case because the knowledge of our naturalists is still insufficient; but, on the other hand, contemporary science cannot show one single case which could not be explained by the influence of the conditions of life and natural selection.[20]

As for rational egoism:

> The conclusion is that every breed acts constantly only for the sake of its self, and that the fullest egoism constitutes the fundamental law of life for the entire organic world. A man can remake the cabbage for himself, but no type of cabbage will remake itself for man.[21]

If Darwin, as later commentators have suggested, reflected in his theory of natural selection unconscious observations of the competition prevailing in his own English industrial society, then it is not surprising that the younger generation in Russia in the 1860's did not at first see the possible social implications of Darwinism. The later controversy which arose over Social Darwinism did not occur to them because the ruling class to which they were opposed did not attempt to justify its rule by Darwinism or any other scientific rationalization. To the younger generation of the 1860's, Darwinism was at first simply another weapon from the arsenal of science with which to support their materialism and to attack the hated triumvirate of Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality. Because of this and because

[20]*Ibid.*, iii, 383-384.
[21]*Ibid.*, iii, 360.

of the difference between the society of Russia and that of Western Europe, the history of the influence of Darwinism on Russian social thought and the categories of opinion which it crystallized are quite distinct from those of Western Europe.[22]

While Pisarev and the other materialists believed that Darwin's theory supported their philosophy, they had failed to distinguish between biological and cultural inheritance which made possible the rise of Social Darwinism based upon a confusion of the two. In 1864 an article was published by V. A. Zaitsev which brought the issue of Social Darwinism for the first time to the consideration of the Russian intelligentsia. Along with Pisarev, Zaitsev wrote in the 1860's for the *Russkoe Slovo.* In 1866 he was arrested in connection with the attempted assassination of Alexander II by Karakozov and put in the Peter and Paul Fortress for four months and then released. Continued surveillance by the police drove him abroad in March of 1869. He worked first with the anarchist, Michael Bakunin, on his *Bulletin of the Jura Federation,* and later he was temporarily associated with Nechaev and after 1870 with Ogarev. He died in 1882.[23]

Zaitsev's article was a review of a book on the unity of the human races.[24] He raised the question of whether the varied races of the world could really be brothers:

> Undoubtedly it is even acknowledged by all that slavery is the very best outcome which the colored man could desire coming into contact with the white . . . . The sentimental enemies of slavery are able only to cite text and line of the Psalms, but they cannot show a single fact which would prove that education and freedom can turn a Negro into a white man. . . . Instead of being concerned about the equality of the black races with the white . . . it would be better to turn attention to those real brothers of ours, whom our political and social conditions degrade to the extent of denying them

[22]Cf. for example Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought,* revised edition, (Boston, 1955) and his "The Social Impact of Darwinism" in *Chapters in Western Civilization,* (Columbia University Press, 1954), ii, 241-261.

[23]V. A. Zaitsev, *Sobranie sochinenii,* 2 vols., ed. by B. P. Koz'min, (Moscow, 1934), i, 15-48.

[24]The book was entitled *Edinstvo roda chelovecheskogo* (Moscow, 1864) and was reviewed by Zaitsev in *Russkoe* Slovo, 1864, no. 93-100 and reprinted in Zaitsev, i, 228-234.

> those marks and qualities natural to their tribe and thus bringing them to the level of the lower races.[25]

The contemporaries of Zaitsev were shocked by his racialist attitude. That such arch-reactionary views should come from a radical seemed incomprehensible. The intelligentsia through their press turned against Zaitsev and *Russkoe Slovo*. M. Antonovich in *Sovremmenik* declared,

> . . . to deny the possibility of equal rights for the Negroes means to deny the possibility of their freedom, means to affirm the unavoidability of their slavery, means to agree with the opinions of the American plantation owners. . . . The structure of women is different than that of men . . . but this does not mean that they have a right to be less than men. Whatever zoology says, sane thought and the general welfare must be respected.[26]

Pisarev could not let this broadside against science and his co-worker go unanswered:

> Mr. Zaitsev expressed a not at all eccentric thought in saying that the law of Darwin applied also to the human race. If Mr. Antonovich thinks that it does not apply to the human race, then Mr. Antonovich will have to explain on what grounds he bases his opinion.[27]

Pisarev's main concern was that no avenue should be reopened for the entrance of a spiritual interpretation of the origin of man. Although Pisarev never developed any distinction between the application of Darwin's theory to man as risen from the primates and to man as living in society, he implicitly made it clear that he did not subscribe to any type of Social Darwinism. "The situation is this," he explained, "slavery weakens the mind and erodes the character also of that white race which owns slaves and which lives in a slave-owning state."[28]

The polemic against Zaitsev's views continued unabated and led Zaitsev to write another article defending his viewpoint. He attempted to equate the struggle for survival with the progress of the white race, but the essay was more an attack on his

[25] *Ibid.* Zaitsev's sympathy lay with the South in the American Civil War because of what he considered to be their desire for a "free federation of states."

[26] *Sovremmenik,* 1865, no. 12. See also his articles in nos. 1 and 3. Zaitsev, i, 499 ff.

[27] Pisarev, v, 143 ff.

[28] *Ibid.*

critics using quotes from "authorities" than a development of his somewhat confused ideas. How much Zaitsev had been influenced by Vogt's biological historicism and by Moleschott's environmentalism became apparent in this article.[29]

The following year, Zaitsev revived the controversy. But by this time he had sufficiently collected his thoughts so that his earlier articles appeared as an extreme and distorted version of his opinion. He began with a reaffirmation of his belief that if the theory of Darwin was correct, it must be applied also to the human race. From there, Zaitsev explained, there was only one logical conclusion: it is foolish to revolt against the fact of the struggle for existence in human society because this is an unchanging law which holds for the entire world. To deny it is to place man outside the laws of this world. It is better to recognize the law and to act towards it from a moral point of view than to follow sentimental philosophy in ignoring or denying it and letting the law run its full and unchecked course. He. concluded:

> The closer we come to an understanding of the laws of natural science, then the more successfully will go the struggle with nature. This also applies to the laws and discoveries of Darwin. . . . The law of the struggle for existence always acts on man; but not recognizing it, people cannot fight against it as they can against other natural laws known to them. The fact, consequently, that they acknowledge it has in itself nothing sad but on the contrary is all to the good.[30]

Later in his life, Zaitsev looked back on those stormy days of his youth with their impassioned struggle for a better life based upon the revealed truths of science:

> I swear to you by everything which I hold sacred, that we were not egotists as you call us. It was an error, I admit, but we were profoundly convinced that we were fighting for the happiness of human nature, and every one of us would have gone to the scaffold and would have laid down his life for Moleschott or Darwin.[31]

[29]*Russkoe Slovo*, 1864, no. 12. Zaitsev, i, 234-239.

[30]Zaitsev, i, 428-442.

[31]Kravchinsky, 6. Zaitsev's opinion of the colored races had remained, however, a blemish on his reputation. D. Minaev in his *Evgenii Onegin nashego vremeni* (St. Petersburg, 1865) characterized the fundamental conviction of his nihilist-hero by placing him

"*. . . vsled za Zaitsevym surovym*
Proiznosit', chto negr est' skot
Edva li stoiashchii zabot."

It would be difficult to overstress the significance of the controversy raised by Zaitsev. The condemnatory attitude of the Russian intelligentsia towards the extrapolation of Darwin's theory of natural selection from the world of nature to the world of human society was made abundantly clear in their rebuttal to Zaitsev. In the long and involved history of the interaction of Darwinism with Russian social thought, Zaitsev was the only thinker of any note who raised his voice in favor of what later could be construed as a Europan type of Social Darwinism.[32] And as his writings of 1865 showed, his somewhat confused and extreme article of 1864 had inadequately portrayed his position and had been misinterpreted. Zaitsev approached in his articles on Darwinism the position adopted by Thomas Huxley in England who saw in Darwin's theory the tragic opposition of the cosmic and the ethical processes.[33] But Zaitsev had imbibed too much of the optimistic materialist philosophy of the sixties to see despair flowing from the process of natural selection. Instead, he saw the opportunity for man to control the physical phenomenon of natural selection for the benefit of his moral goals.

The other major importance of the Zaitsev controversy was that it brought out a criticism of the Darwinism idea of natural selection (especially the aspect of the struggle for existence) which became the blueprint, as it were, of the framework through which Darwinism and Social Darwinism would be viewed by Russian thinkers whether they opposed or accepted the basic thesis of Darwin.

That criticism was contributed by a young biologist, Nicholas Dmitrevich Nozhin (1841-1866). He had answered Zaitsev's first article on Negroes by asking, "Is it possible that from the theory of Darwin about the differences between races of people, one must be convinced of the unshakable foundation of

[32]It is the opinion of the author that the occasional characterization of Danilevsky as a Social Darwinist does not fit either the definition of the term nor the content of Danilevsky's work on Darwinism. This point is developed in detail in my forthcoming *Darwinism and Russian Social Thought.*

[33]Thomas Huxley, "The Struggle for Existence," *Nineteenth Century,* 1888, xxiii, 161-180.

new tears and sorrows for mankind"[34] Nozhin began to develop his idea that cooperation was not only much more natural than competition but actually necessary to survival, a conception which he brought to full flower in a long and somewhat heavy article the following year:

> Darwin talks about the connection between the struggle for existence and natural selection as if he did not notice that every such connection is limited by the antagonism between these two conditions of growth; therefore, he does not see that the struggle for existence is not helpful for development, that by itself it is only the source of pathological phenomena, phenomena diametrically opposed to the laws of physical development.[35]

Nozhin saw instead a "physiological law" which rendered impossible any apotheosis of the struggle for existence:

> . . . identical organisms do not struggle against one another for existence, but on the contrary, strive to combine one with the other, as it were, to unify their homogeneous forces, their interests, and by this process, cooperation rather than a division of labor is observed in their relations.[36]

In the rest of his article, Nozhin reflected the developing ideals of the young generation of the 1860's. He, too, believed that science should not be studied for its own sake but for the solution of social problems; otherwise it served only to support the *status quo*. Moreover, science seemed to him to be the only region of thought and action open in Russia to creative minds. Nozhin had only skepticism for political panaceas because he believed that the disharmony of life arose fundamentally from the division of labor between individuals which resulted in less solidarity, less mutual understanding, and ultimately less freedom. Only if individuals of the same species struggled together against their environment would the integrity of each be secured. Nozhin concluded his polemic against the idea of the struggle for existence with the suggestion that only "mutual-aid"

[34]Nicolas Nozhin, "Po povodu statei *Russkogo Slova* o nevol'nichestve," *Iskra*, 1865, no. 8.

[35]Nicolas Nozhin, "Nasha nauka i uchenie," *Knizhnyi Vestnik*, 1866, April 15, no. 7.

[36]*Ibid.*

would produce fully integrated individuals enjoying full health, freedom and anarchy.[37]

This ideal of the necessity of cooperation rather than competition among individuals of the same species which Nozhin made an integral part of his biological theory became the leading motif of the Russian interpretation of Darwinism and Social Darwinism and leads directly to Mikhailovsky, Chernyshevsky and the other Russian commentators on the impact of Darwinism on Russian social thought.

[37]*Ibid.* On the last page of this article, Nozhin explains that by mutual-aid he means the *mutualité* cited in Proudhon's *De la capacité politique des classes ouvriers.*

M. V. Dobujinsky—Pictorial Poet of St. Petersburg

By VERA KOVARSKY

AT the turn of the last century Russian art went through a period of development which is often called "The Russian Renaissance." It was a time of extraordinary growth and creative output of the highest quality. That renaissance was brought forth by a group of painters and critics who called themselves *Mir Iskusstva* after the review *World of Art* created by Diaghilev. This group which started and flourished in St. Petersburg set itself a very important task: to bring Russian art into the Western fold by revitalizing it. Russian art had, at that time, fallen prey to ideological and social realism developed during the last decades of the nineteenth century, forsaking pure art and even technique for the social and reforming anecdote. Among the numerous achievements of the World of Art group — about which many books have been published and still many more could be written — was the creation of a new type of book illustration in particular and of graphic arts in general, which the group brought up to a very high standard. They also achieved remarkable results in rejuvenating the art of theatrical scenery, in rediscovering the Russian icon, and in reviving the Russian historical artistic past. The outstanding qualities of the group — emphasis on perfect workmanship, sure taste, and search for a new style — were also the qualities of one of its youngest members Mstislav Valerianovich Dobujinsky, who was one of the most gifted and probably one of the best known of all members of *Mir Iskusstva* in his own country, and outside of it as well.[1]

M. V. Dobujinsky was formed by the city of St. Petersburg, the main object of his love and dreams for many years. There has always been a certain noble aloofness characteristic of this

[1] 1875-1957.

city, and it was reflected to some extent in Mstislav Dobujinsky himself. He painted the Northern Palmyra for more than fifty years and spent the best years of his life there. No wonder that he became its pictorial poet *par excellence.*

The future painter was born in 1875, in Novgorod, and was christened after Saint Mstislav, a Novgorodian prince of the twelfth century. In his memoirs (some excerpts of which were published in *Novy Zhurnal* and showed that along with his other gifts Dobujinsky had a remarkable talent for writing, he told how, as a child, he was often taken to the twelfth century Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Novgorod "to kiss the glove of his Patron Saint." His father, a general of artillery, was a scion of an old Lithuanian family. His mother, a gifted singer, was from Novgorod, the daughter of a Greek Orthodox priest. She sang under the name of Boretskaya, a pseudonym her husband found for her in remembrance of a famous Novgorod public figure Marfa Posadnitsa. Mstislav's parents separated soon after his birth, and he spent his first four years with his mother and when she remarried was sent to St. Petersburg to live with his father.

"Until I was eleven years old," recalled Dobujinsky later, "I lived with my father in a big apartment reserved for military personnel in the Vyborg district of the city. Through the windows I could see the silhouette of the Smolny and the silver glitter of the Neva." His nurse used to take him on long walks past "the wide expanse of the river, the fortress of Saint Peter and Paul, the white bell-tower of the Exchange and the golden spire of the Admiralty." He wrote: "These sights attracted me and made me feel gay, and at the same time filled me with a strange feeling; but I couldn't yet understand fully the poetry hidden in the beauty of St. Petersburg . . . Its beauty, its regal views and the majestic flow of the river – these were things that filled my childhood and remained dear forever. But as a painter I understood St. Petersburg much later, as a grown-up. Yet another separation [the first one during his school years] helped me to understand that. After two years of studies in foreign countries I saw St. Petersburg in quite another light. I had forgotten it, and I began looking at it with different eyes, and for the *first* time I understood all the grandeur of architectural orig-

inality. My eyes opened at the very time when the cult of Old Petersburg was forming. With my friends of the *World of Art* I took a very active part in this revival. But not only the beauty of St. Petersburg was revealed to me, but also its forlorn corners . . . the St. Petersburg of Dostoevsky. It is indeed a unique, the most fantastic city in the world."

When tired of walking the nurse and the child went to his father's office where the boy was given pencils and encouraged to draw. One could easily say that his first teacher of drawing was his father. Having realized early that his son was unusually gifted as a painter Valerian Dobujinsky did everything to encourage and develop the boy's talent.

Dobujinsky's father had a large and valuable library. The boy loved to look at Doré's illustrations of "Paradise Lost" and at the old engravings illustrating Sir Walter Scott's works. His father liked to take him to shops where Russian toys were sold. When he grew up Dobujinsky began collecting such toys, which furnished inspiration for some of his stage costumes and sets.

The nurse and the boy went sometimes to his aunt's house where there was a "sitting room with extremely large mirrors and windows, very shiny parquet floors, paintings in heavy golden frames, and velvet drapes with tassels." This reads like a description of one of his own future stage sets. Dobujinsky himself recognized years later that all these old Russian dwellings helped him immensely in his stage designs. "Such," he wrote, "was the St. Petersburg of my childhood," a childhood never to be forgotten, and which subsequently bore its golden fruit.

When his mother moved to the province of Tambov and the young Dobujinsky paid her summer visits, he had the unique opportunity of seeing the life of the impoverished Russian country gentry, with their houses built in the Russian empire style and their overstuffed living rooms. He also took part in the quiet and uneventful country life. His sensitive mind absorbed everything. "During the summer months I spent with my mother I never stopped drawing, drawing everything I would see around me. I also made many portraits of people in my albums." When years later he was painting the sets for Stanislavsky's production of Turgenev's "A Month in the Coun-

try," he said: "Only my mother could say which were the things of her house that inspired me in the painting of these sets. The huge linden trees of the garden-scene came from her garden. The small "Shipwreck" of Vernet which hung in her sitting room and whose romantic feeling I liked so much in my youth I painted as a huge picture hanging in the Blue Parlor of 'A Month in the Country'."

When Dobujinsky was eleven years old he was sent to Vilno, the old Lithuanian town of his forbears to attend the gymnasium. In school he was happiest when he could draw or paint and was already showing preference for graphic arts. He drew vignettes, intricate capital letters, and enjoyed the beauty of elaborately designed alphabets. He would spend hours copying illustrations from the very popular weekly magazine *Niva*. What he liked most was the line, its exactitude and natural flow; color interested his less.

Dobujinsky's father was determined that his son should become a painter of historical subjects. Upon his return from Vilno to St. Petersburg Mstislav Valerianovich took up a brush instead of a pencil and began the study of painting. He studied with Dmitriev-Kavkazsky, a minor painter of the realist Russian school of the end of the nineteenth century. The teacher's lack of personality kept him from ruining his pupil, and indeed he was able to give him some good technical advice. At the same time, true to the Russian intelligentsia's traditional regard for higher learning, Dobujinsky studied law at the university, graduating in 1898. That same year he was married and left at once for Munich to study painting, certain at last that art was to be his life's aim and work.

He remained in Munich for two years studying first with the German painter Azbe[2], who taught him how to concentrate on the essential without losing himself in unnecessary details. This was one of the best lessons Dobujinsky ever learned, and it influenced his whole approach to art. All his subsequent drawings were always clearly thought out and uncluttered.

[2]Anton Azbe, (1861-1905), a Yugoslav painter who settled in Munich. He was a minor impressionist who painted little, but whose school of painting formed many artists.

The Russian painters A. de Zhavlensky and Igor Grabar were also in Munich at that time. Both were experimenting with neo-impressionism which never appealed particularly to Dobujinsky, but showed him nevertheless what a painter could do with color if he chose to.

After studying for some time with Azbe, Dobujinsky went to work with another painter, Simon Hollosy[3]. From this artist he learned the value of the intimate and naturalistic approach to objects, the perfect rendering of intimate interiors both Russian and American (subsequently the Newport series[4]) and their atmosphere was to be one of the main characteristics of Dobujinsky's art, and the one which probably endeared him most to his admirers. He had such a feeling for objects that in his drawings and paintings they seem to live and talk in their own language. He had always liked Hans Christian Andersen whose influence combined with that of Hollosy played on the hidden strings of Dobujinsky's nature and contributed to make him one of the best pictorial bards of Russian heritage.

In 1900, after completing his Munich studies, Dobujinsky went on to Italy and France to "study the history of art." He fell briefly in love with the impressionists, and admired the Pre-Raphaelites. He returned home to St. Petersburg in mid-1900, ready to start on his own.

On Igor Grabar's advice he began to do some graphic work. A. Benois commissioned some of his exquisite *kontsovki* and *zastavki*[5] for the magazine *World of Art*. Drawn in black ink with an easy, flowing line, full of imagination and taste, these small "end-pages" were among his best achievements and at the same time of Russian graphic art. No artist of any other country has ever paid such attention to those miniature drawings of leaves, flowers, animals, sometimes people, sometimes

[3]Simon Hollosy (1857-1918), a minor impressionist, chiefly known for his illustrations.

[4]Many New Yorkers will remember him as "a painter of atmosphere" as Arnold Haskell has called him for his inspired rendering of the fading beauty of Newport interiors and gardens (1946).

[5]"Kontsovki" from the word *konets* or end – a decorative design set at the end of a story or at the end of a page. "Zastavki" – a decorative graphic design intended "to fill up" an empty space, often used to decorate the beginning of a page.

tiny landscapes, always encompassed within a frame, which enhanced the beginning of a new chapter or an empty space at the end of a page. Dobujinsky excelled in this minute work, where line and the interplay of white and black surfaces were the masters.

A year later, in 1902, Dobujinsky joined the *World of Art* group of painters (Benois, Bakst, Somov, Lanceret, Ostroumova-Lebedeva, etc) and began to exhibit at their shows – chiefly deeply-felt landscapes of Tambov, Novgorod, and other Russian provincial towns, as well as some portraits.

It is well known in Russia, but not abroad, that among the achievements of *World of Art* was the awakening of interest in intellectual circles of Russia's artistic and archeological past. Even before any society for the preservation of St. Petersburg architecture was formed, *World of Art* painters went about the Northern Palmyra with their easels and sketch books. Eugene Lanceret was the first, followed by Ostroumova-Lebedeva. But Dobujinsky was the one who gave himself body and soul to portraying the beauty of the city. The first series of his St. Petersburg drawings was published in 1910 and henceforth he became known in Russia as "the poet of Saint Petersburg," so inspired and lyrical was his rendering of Russia's capital. His views of that city were not only wonderful examples of highly stylized drawing, of perfect graphic rendering of the capital's old corners, streets, parks and bridges, they also captured its extraordinary atmosphere as no other artist's work could. He used black pencil, charcoal, or pastel and sometimes enhanced his drawings with small touches of color. One of the best historians of Russian art, Hollerbach, later wrote of Mstislav Dobujinsky: "The graphic art of Russia was born and nurtured in St. Petersburg, and Dobujinsky was its first painter and poet."

Throughout his long artistic career which embraced more than half a century Dobujinsky never stopped drawing and painting St. Petersburg. In 1918, for instance, he published an album of lithographs of the city. Another album came out a few years later called "Petersburg 1921," in which he represented the neglected post-revolutionary city. In 1924 he illustrated the "White Nights" of Dostoevsky, a work which un-

doubtedly can be called his best rendering of the city's soul and atmosphere. Even in 1941, when he was living in New York, he painted some glimpses of the former Russian capital for the settings of Balanchine's "Ballet Imperial." And when he illustrated Leskov's "The Steel Flea" (1944) – his first illustration work in the United States – there were several views of the Winter Palace and of the Neva embankments.

Two years before his death, while living in Great Britain, he once more reverted to drawing St. Petersburg, and St. Petersburg only – not Leningrad and not even Petrograd. It was the eternal city he painted. While Lanceret and Benois for instance painted only its festive aspects, Dobujinsky liked to draw street scenes and everyday life. He went to the Winter Palace, but he also went to the streets of Dostoevsky's novels. Nothing was too big or too small for him: he loved equally well the golden pretzel hanging above the German bakeries and the lofty Admiralty needle – an eternal part of St. Petersburg vistas, – an elegant carriage on the Nevsky or a horse-drawn streetcar of a poorer section. He drew with swift and exact strokes which made some critics of that time exclaim that "there was no emotion whatsoever in Dobujinsky's graphic art," an impression which can be explained by the extreme elegance and a certain stylization of his drawings. He excelled in creating dramatic contrasts of white and black surfaces. Filosofov, a friend of Merezhkovsky and Zinaida Gippius, spoke thus: "In order to understand, even incompletely, the art of Somov, Dobujinsky and Lanceret, one should know not only Russia's eighteenth century, but its 1830's and much more. Only after one had swallowed and digested all that mixture will one be able to understand and appreciate the talent and finesse of these painters."

During the decade or so which preceded World War II, Dobujinsky led a most active creative and intellectual life. He became closely connected with all the activities of the *World of Art*. He saw Diaghilev constantly and entered into lifelong friendships with Somov, Bakst, and Lanceret.

Apart from his devotion to drawing St. Petersburg he was also active in painting portraits. They were not always technically perfect, but sensitive and psychologically true. One of his best

known portraits "Man with Eyeglasses" (1904), an oil, now in the Tretyakov gallery in Moscow, represents a man sitting by a window through which one sees a gloomy city landscape, the whole bathed in the somber light of a dreary winter day. It is a portrait of a typical Russian intellectual "carrying all the evil of the world on his shoulders." Such a man Dobujinsky himself remained throughout his long and busy life, no matter where fate carried him. His pencil portraits were drawn with few, fluid, and accurate lines and possessed a more "international" quality.

In 1904, the year he began to exhibit abroad, he was already recognized as an outstanding artist of urban landscapes and a sensitive portraitist. As if this weren't enough he and Bakst created, in the fall of 1906, what came to be known as "the school of Bakst and Dobujinsky," connected with the painting academy founded by Madame Zvantseva, a pupil of Ilya Repin.

Zvantseva's school was located in the building where Vyacheslav Ivanov the poet lived. "I used to come and teach there twice a week," Dobujinsky recalled later, "and very soon I met Vyacheslav Ivanov and his family. Our school became a small cultural center, where, in extraordinary surroundings, many a painter was formed." The best poets of Russia, Blok, Bely, Sologub, Voloshin, as well as philosophers, writers and artists – the cream of Russian creative cultural forces, would meet in "the tower of Ivanov" located just above the school. It was a real Renaissance and Dobujinsky's talent grew and mellowed in these extraordinary surroundings.

More than twenty-five years of Dobujinsky's life were devoted to teaching, one of his last assignments being a professorship at the Vitebsk Institute of Art (1918), to which he was invited by Mark Chagall, one of his former students. After that he taught for a few years at the Lithuanian State College of Fine Arts.

One of the results of his friendship with the poet Ivanov[6] were several charming book covers for Ivanov's small collection of verses. The eccentric writer Alexei Remizov, a frequent visitor

[6]Dobujinsky drew Ivanov with small wings attached to his feet, standing on the rim of his tower ready to fly toward the stars.

to the Tower, made Dobujinsky a Cavalier of his "Free Parliament of Monkeys of King Asoka" and asked him to illustrate his book for children *The Small Wrinkle* (1907). This was his first real effort at this form of art, and he made five illustrations for the author's amusing and witty story. They were drawn in a manner slightly reminiscent of the Pre-Raphaelites, in bold lines, with a few touches of color here and there. Somehow they look outdated today, though well adapted to the fanciful mind of Remizov. These illustrations were soon followed by six drawings of perfect workmanship, style, and understanding for a special edition of Pushkin's "Station Master."

Thus Dobujinsky embarked on his long career as illustrator, to become a "wonderful story teller" as Benois called him. His particular marks of distinction in this field were his absolute identification with the subject pictured and a careful study of its background. When he illustrated Pushkin's "Lady Peasant" (1919) there was not a single error in his costumes. When, before that, he illustrated Andersen's *Swine Herder* he spent weeks studying the costumes of Andersen's time. It was in the twenties, when he illustrated Karamzin's *Poor Liza* that he changed his technique, giving more play to contrasting surfaces than to lines. He also began building rather more complicated designs and patterns than before. Thus his illustrations for a London edition of "Eugene Onegin," in 1937, were drawn almost exclusively with black silhouettes on the white background of the paper. Perfect taste, flawless drawing, keen historical approach and absolute understanding of Pushkin made of this an achievement rivalled only by his *White Nights* of Dostoevsky.

As early as 1906 Dobujinsky was asked, in St. Petersburg, to paint the sets for Remizov's "Devil's Action Upon a Certain Man." This opened still another aspect of his many-sided career — stage designing, in which his name became known throughout the world. In this play, which Meyerhold was to stage (though giving up before completion) there were many demons, angels, sinners and apocryphal characters. "Fascinating work," Dobujinsky recalled later. "What we needed here was the Russian *lubok* [pictorial folk art]. Benois gave me his blessing." The final result — the combination of folk art and Remizov's wild

imagination met with catcalls from the bourgeois but with applause from the *avant-garde* and critics. Notwithstanding this mixed reception Dobujinsky's name was thenceforth synonymous with talented stage designing. As for himself he was bitten, if not by the devil, by the theatrical bug, and for all the years that followed, almost to his death, he worked for the theater and for opera and ballet. In Russia, Vilno, Paris, Milan, Naples, Amsterdam, Brussels, London and New York, he designed both sets and costumes for more than one hundred productions.

In 1909 Dobujinsky was approached by the Moscow Art Theater. This was more than a great honor; it was recognition. In *My Life in Art* Stanislavsky recalled: "Where could one find a theatrical artist responding to the requirements of our theater at that time? In some measure he had also to be the producer of the play. The first among the St. Petersburg artists we addressed ourselves to was Mstislav Dobujinsky." Wrote Dobujinsky: "To my great amazement Stanislavsky asked me to paint sets and costumes for Turgenev's "A Month in the Country."

The experiences of his youth, the summers he spent in Tambov province where he became closely acquainted with many gentlemen's homes proved invaluable. Carefully and thoughtfully he worked out each detail of "A Month in the Country," whether a carpet on the floor, or a flower vase, or the cushions on a sofa, or the pictures on the wall – which as we have already seen, he "borrowed" from his mother's living room. His choice of Vernet's "Storm" was also dictated by the desire to show that tragedy was brewing in the quiet blue parlor. His semi-circular ballroom, and his corner room were so outstanding in design and color, that they were greeted with enthusiasm by everyone. Indeed when thirty years later Simonson and Mamoulian staged "A Month in the Country" for the Theater Guild in New York they copied all of Dobujinsky's costumes and settings in faithful detail.

When Stanislavsky saw the final result of Dobujinsky's efforts he told him: "Never before have we had such settings in our theater." Produced in December, 1909, "A Month in the Country" became one of the jewels of the Russian theater, and a

jewel as well in Dobujinsky's crown of fame. After the first triumph he designed seven other plays for the Moscow Art Theater, one of the best being "Stavrogin," after Dostoevsky, for which he made eleven sets in a dynamic style using many dramatic lighting effects and silhouetting objects and people against skies and windows.

While working for Stanislavsky he also did some work for Baliev, for several St. Petersburg theaters and for Diaghilev's ballets. He worked very hard at each of his productions, learning the exact historical background of each play, each character, each place. He visited museums, private homes, picture collections, read innumerable books to be sure that he was on the right path. He was never pleased with just one sketch: he made dozens of them until he was satisfied with color, composition, light. Such thoroughness added to his pictorial talent, and his perfect taste contributed to make his sets and costumes so pleasant to the eye and so well adapted to the play.

The Dobujinskys left Russia in 1924 and after a short stay in Riga settled in Lithuania. There Mstislav Valerianovich designed, in 1925, the costumes and scenery for Pushkin-Chaikovsky's " Dame de Pique" (also produced in Brussels in 1931, and as a movie in Paris in 1937.)

In subsequent years he also worked on "Eugene Onegin" (Dresden, 1924; Naples, 1954) and "Boris Godunov" (Kovno, Brussels, London, New York); designed settings and costumes for Marie Rambert, for the New York Ballet Theater, for the New York City Center ("Love for Three Oranges"), for London's Sadlers Wells, and for the New York Metropolitan Opera.

It is beyond the scope of this article to enumerate all that this artist's talent and energy created. A bibliographical list of his creations between 1898 and 1920 alone listed 1200 items.

In 1939, when Dobujinsky was in London, he received a letter from the actor Mikhail Chekhov, inviting him to come to Connecticut to help him produce Dostoevsky's *The Possessed* for Broadway. Both men worked hard for months at this production, which met with little success. It was a blow and though Dobujinsky was mildly praised by some critics, "it wasn't followed by anything," as he put it. In fact, his arrival in the United

States was the beginning of a rather sad period. Unable to go back to Lithuania where he was liked and understood, he had to submit to the New York examinations for stage designers, which for a man of his experience was a degradation. Worse yet, he had nothing to do for years at a time.

Once he considered going to Hollywood, but a Russian friend working there wrote him: "A painter of your refined taste will be completely misunderstood and not appreciated by Hollywood." Finally, in the summer of 1941, he was commissioned to design the sets and costumes for Gilbert Miller's production of "Anne of England." In this play, as Marie Sterne wrote later, he showed "the glamour of royal splendor, without detracting from the human interest of a very intelligent and sympathetic performance" (his sketches for this play were placed on exhibit in New York in October, 1941). Another period of inactivity followed, but then several of his Russian friends, living in New York, came forward with commissions. For Mikhail Fokine Dobujinsky painted the settings of "The Russian Soldier," a most attractive production with many scenes painted on tulle, in which he introduced some views of his beloved St. Petersburg. He made settings for Massine's "Melle Angot" and for Mikhail Chekhov's "The Fair of Sorotchinsk." The latter was produced in New York in 1942. But Dobujinsky was not able to do for this production all he wanted and bitterly complained: "There were too many people who messed things and did not put their whole heart into their work."

Lacking commissions he was forced to take a cataloging job at the Library of Congress. He felt very lonely and misunderstood: "I never felt so wounded in my life, as here in America." he wrote to a friend. "Of course, there cannot be any comparison with St. Petersburg, but even in London people were interested in what I was doing." He also began to write his memoirs, a few excerpts of which were published in *Novy Zhurnal*. Written with warmth and feeling they are fascinating reading not only for artists but for all those interested in Russia's past.

Continuing to draw, he went to Newport to paint its old houses. In 1946 his paintings of Newport interiors were exhibited in New York, but "chiefly Russians visit the show, the New

Yorkers do not show much interest in their Newport," he complained. Exquisitely painted with pastel colors, these interior scenes, of which he made more than a hundred, were indeed very interesting, capturing the beauty of a vanishing past.

And then, in 1948, a miracle happened. Dobujinsky was commissioned to work on the Metropolitan Opera's production of Moussorgsky's "Khovantshchina." "I was so hungry for the theater," he wrote to a friend. "I am so excited now, I am head over heels in this opera. I found a lot of interesting books and documents. I feel now so close to Moussorgsky . . . Think, in the first act alone there are some two hundred costumes to draw." But trouble was brewing: Dobujinsky was not allowed to use the stage lights the way he thought they should be, and the women: "They all want to show their hair!" a thing unheard of in old Russia, but a matter of temperamental importance to the Opera chorus. When the *New York Times* critic Olin Downes wrote: "The settings are remarkable for lack of imagination and historical exactitude" Dobujinsky was deeply hurt. Nothing could have been further from the truth, but coming from a well-known critic it did him a lot of harm and perhaps for this reason his inspired settings for "Wozzek" at the City Opera of New York were not well received either.

No wonder that in 1952 the Dobujinskys returned to Europe. The painter went to Milan's La Scala to paint "Melle Angot" at the invitation of Leonid Massine, but unfortunately the latter dropped the whole idea when everything was ready. The return to Europe did not bring what he had hoped for. War had changed Europe in many ways; there were no more Baltic State Operas to work for, the name of Dobujinsky was all but forgotten. It was sad and unfair. He went to Italy where life was cheap and art was everywhere. Two years later he painted the sets for "Eugene Onegin" for Naples' San Carlo Theater, and finally in 1957 those for the ballet "Coppelia" for the Sadler's Wells company in London. Both productions were worthy of their author – clear, accurate, well painted.

In Vienna, in 1956, a producer wanted to stage "A Month in the Country" and thought of calling on Dobujinsky for the settings, but he met with terrific opposition. It was almost as

though Dobujinsky was no longer a living artist but rather, a relic of the past who was good to study as an example, but not to be omployed. In 1957, with his wife he returned to New York, a very disillusioned and sad man. A month later he died, survived by his wife and two sons.

With his death a most gifted and cultivated Russian painter passed away, a painter for whom Russian history and the Russian past were living entities. For Dobujinsky was a part of what was best in Russian culture of this century and without him Russian art would never have reached its peak of achievement. For fifty years he gave it all that was best in him, his talent, his knowledge, his love of beauty, and his artistic integrity. And because of him Russian graphic arts and the Russian theater reached unprecedented heights. Not only had he helped in the Russian artistic renaissance of the beginning of this century, but he did so modestly and by using only what he learned and absorbed through the magnifying glass of his love for his country.

"Nationality" in the State Ideology during the Reign of Nicholas I

By Nicholas V. Riasanovsky

"Nationality" (*narodnost*) was at the time and has since remained the most obscure, puzzling and debatable member of the dogmatic trinity declared, in 1833, to be official doctrine by Nicholas I's new minister of education, S. Uvarov.[1] While "Orthodoxy" and "autocracy," the other two articles of the state creed, were relatively precise terms referring to an established faith and a distinct form of government, "nationality" possessed no single, generally accepted meaning. It has been most often interpreted as merely an appendage to "autocracy," an affirmation that the Russian people were docile and obedient subjects of their tsar and their landlords.[2] According to this view, it served mainly as a propaganda device and possessed no significance of its own. In fact, it has been equated by some simply with the defense of serfdom.

[1]"Our common obligation consists in this that the education of the people be conducted, according to the Supreme intention of our August Monarch, in the joint spirit of Orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality. I am convinced that every professor and teacher, being permeated by one and the same feeling of devotion to throne and fatherland, will use all his resources to become a worthy tool of the government and to earn its complete confidence." (S. Uvarov, "Tsirkulyarnoe predlozhenie G. Upravlyayushchego Ministerstvom Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya Nachalstvam Uchebnykh Okrugov o vstuplenii v upravlenie Ministerstvom'," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya,* Part One, 1834, p. 1). In the larger sense Official Nationality can be said to stand for the regime of Nicholas I, its theory and practice. For a full treatment of the subject see my book *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825-1855,* 1959.

[2]See, e.g.: A. Presnyakov, *Apogei samoderzhaviya, Nikolai I,* 1925, p. 58; or: "Nikolai I," in *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar.* F. Brokgauz i Efron V. XXI, pp. 119-124, especially p. 120.

This assessment of "nationality" is largely valid, but incomplete. For in addition to its reactionary, dynastic, and defensive connotations, the term also had a romantic frame of reference. And on the romantic plane "Russia" and "the Russian people" acquired a supreme metaphysical, and even mystical, importance, leading to belief in the great mission of Russia, to such doctrines as Panslavism and such practices as Russification. Theories attempting to buttress the antique Russian regime met German idealistic philosophy with its dizzying new vistas. It followed logically that the two views of "nationality," which we may call the "dynastic" and the "nationalistic," and which will be considered in the remainder of this paper, were in essential contradiction to each other. This contrast and antagonism found expression in the strife between different groups of government ideologists. It was reflected more subtly in the change of position by certain proponents of the state views, while in still other instances the contradiction remained concealed and implicit. In general, the concept of nationality accounted for the tensions and conflicts within the government doctrine.

Yet it should be noted that in spite of their differences the proponents of Official Nationality enjoyed a measure of agreement as they defined and expounded the nature of Russia and of the Russian people. To begin with, they all emphasized that the subjects of the tsar felt and expressed overwhelming devotion to Orthodoxy and autocracy, the two unambiguous articles of the state creed. Professor S. Shevyrev, for instance, declared: "I have been accustomed to feel, at the mention of the Russian people, a certain calm, and that not only back in my own fatherland, but also all over Europe. The reason is that I indissolubly connect two concepts with the name of the Russian people: unqualified submission to the Church, and the same devotion and obedience to the ruler."[3] The great poet Tyutchev asserted with passion: "Russia is above all a Christian empire. The Russian people is Christian not only because of the Orthodoxy of its beliefs, but also because of something even more intimate than belief. It is Christian because of that capacity for reunuci-

[3]Quoted from: A. Dementav, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi zhurnalistiki 1840-1850 gg.*, 1951, p. 195.

ation and sacrifice which serves as the foundation of its moral nature."[4] Shevyrev's friend and colleague, the historian M. Pogodin, exulted repeatedly, in his turn, in the devotion of the Russians to their tsars and in the significance of autocracy for Russia. A single instance, occasioned by a visit to Moscow of the heir to the throne in 1837, will have to suffice as illustration:

> The doors of the Cathedral of the Assumption open; preceded by torches, the Metropolitan comes forth holding a cross in his upraised hands. Behind him the Grand Duke with uncovered head, with lowered eyes, followed by the worthy City Governor of Moscow, by the preceptors and the teachers, and by the most eminent statesmen. Oh, how handsome he was in this minute! What beauty radiated from his young, open face! How much goodness and happiness this gentle smile promised! . . . And what sacred thoughts awoke in a Russian mind . . . The thought about him, and about the Russian people, the youngest son of humanity, firm and fiery when a skillful hand sets in motion the sacred strings of its heart, a fresh and energetic people which, at a signal from its tsars, is ready to fly to its death as to a nuptial feast, a people which has still retained all the freshness of feeling now when the time of raptures has passed for Europe, and the century has enveloped itself in egoism. "Our father, our father!" exclaimed grey old men leaning on their crutches and trying to catch with their fading eyes the movements of the August Youth. "Our father" – these simple words contain the entire meaning of Russian History. Do not boast to us, the West, of your famous institutions! We honor your great men and recognize duly their benefactions to humanity, but we do not envy them, and we point proudly to our own: unto the West that which is Western, unto the East that which is Eastern.[5]

As this gushing passage indicates, a consideration of the Russian people led to national pride, to an affirmation of everything Russian, and to an opposition of Russia to the West. And indeed Nicholas I and his followers all stressed the virtues and the glory of the Russians, Russian history, institutions, and language. They were concerned that both the high society, which preferred French, and the national minorities of the empire learn and use Russian and that the Russian historical tradition form the basis of general education. They loved to contrast happy, stable, and harmoniousRussia to the dissatisfied, restless,

[4]F. Tyutchev, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii,* 1913, p. 344.

[5]N. Barsukov, *Zhizn i trudy M. P. Pogodina, 1888-1910,* v. V, p. 4.

and revolutionary West.[6]

But beyond the weighty affirmations outlined above, agreement among the proponents of Official Nationality ceased. Those ideologists of the state who thought above all in dynastic terms limited their interpretation of "nationality" to the already-mentioned postulates. Their attitude was entirely defensive: "nationality," as well as other doctrinal principles, served as buttresses of the existing order. The nationalists, on the other hand, strove to combine this loyalty to the Russia of Nicholas I with the giddy intellectual sweep of the emerging romantic nationalism. "Nationality" meant for them not only the legendary past and the straight-jacketed present of Russia, but also its glorious, Messianic future. Russia expanded to become Slavdom, Russian destiny advancing to the Elbe, Vienna, and Constantinople. In effect, the entire world was to be recast in response to this call of fate, through blood and iron if necessary. The Messianic Russian future demanded an adventurous, aggressive, even revolutionary, foreign policy which represented the very opposite of the conservative and legitimist orientation of Nicholas I and his government.

The dynastic view was represented by Nicholas I himself, as well as by most members of his government and his court. It also found expression in the loyal press such as the *Northern Bee* with its well-known editors N. Grech and F. Bulgarin. The nationalist wing, led by the Moscow professors Shevyrev, and, especially, Pogodin, included Tyutchev as well as numerous participants in *The Muscovite.* The group stood close to the Slavophiles,[7] and it apparently received considerable support from the Russian public. In Russia, as in other lands, romantic nationalism was first of all the work of crusading professors, publicists, and students. But it penetrated even the government itself, and that on an increasing scale, affecting some of the ministers and other high officials; although it never grew strong

[6]The themes mentioned in this paragraph were extremely prominent in the literature of Official Nationality. See my book for detailed exposition and documentation.

[7]On the relationship of this group and the Slavophiles, see my article: N. Riasanovsky, "Pogodin and Sevyrëv in Russian Intellectual History," *Harvard Slavic Studies,* v. IV, 1957, pp. 149-167.

enough to replace the essentially dynastic and *ancien régime* outlook of the emperor and of most of his aides. Uvarov, the minister of education, reflected these crossing influences in a striking manner: an aristocrat by origin, a reactionary by conviction, a man fully identified with the existing Russian regime, he nevertheless patronized nationalistic professors, himself dabbled in romantic ideology composing the famous triple formula, and wanted to play the role of an intellectual abreast with, and indeed leading, his times; he paid for this ambivalence by being forced, after the revolutions of 1848, to resign his ministry.

The difference between the two points of view came out sharply in the following question of terminology. While Holy Russia was exalted as their key symbol by the nationalists, Bulgarin quoted Count E. Kankrin, the minister of finance of German origin, as saying:

> If we are to consider the matter thoroughly, then, in justice, we must be called not *Russians*, but *Petrovians* . . . Everything: glory, power, prosperity, and enlightenment, we owe to the Romanov family; and, out of gratitude, we should change our general tribal name of *Slavs* to the name of the creator of the empire and of its well-being. Russia should be called *Petrovia*, and we *Petrovians;* or the empire should be named *Romanovia* and we – *Romanovites.*

And Bulgarin added his own opinion to the minister's suggestion: "An unusual idea, but an essentially correct one!"[8]

According to all proponents of Official Nationality, the Russian people had a narrowly circumscribed role. They were to act within the confines of an autocratic regime, to remain obedient and grateful children of their tsar, as well as devoted and heroic soldiers of their officers. Still, even in this estimate of the Russian people certain differences appeared between those who thought in terms of the traditional dynastic state and those who burned with the new flame of nationalism. The first group tended to be entirely reactionary in its approach: serfdom was defended as an indispensable pillar of Russian society, the edu-

[8]F. Bulgarin, *Vospominaniya*, 1846-1849, v. I, pp. 200-201. Italics in the original. This was not the only proposal to rename Russia Petrovia. A little later one historian even argued that, in recognition of the services of Nicholas I, the country should be renamed *Nikolaevia*. R. Zotov, *Tridtsatiletie Evropy v tsarstvovanie Imperatora Nikolaya I.*, 1857, v. II, pp. 312-313.

cation of the tsar's subjects was not to exceed what was proper for their social position,[9] and in general the people were to be kept in their place and to remain merely pliant material in the hands of their masters. The nationalist ideologists of the state accepted on the whole the existing Russian order, but they also envisioned some possible modifications of it, such as the abolition of serfdom. They believed in a popular autocracy, in a real union in thought and action between the tsar and his humble subjects. And they came to be opposed to aristocracy, as an obstacle to this union and a class phenomenon which had no place in the true Russian society.[10]

The Baltic Germans represented an issue over which the nationalist and the dynastic outlooks clashed sharply. These descendents of the Teutonic knights enjoyed an exceptional and dominant position in their provinces, and they also played a major role in the Russian state at large, occupying a great number of important posts, especially in the diplomatic service, in the army, and at court. The Baltic barons provided solid support for Nicholas's entire system, and received in turn the auto-

[9]As Uvarov explained the matter tactfully: "A system of public education can only then be considered to be organized correctly when it offers opportunities to each one to receive that education which would correspond to his mode of life and to his future calling in society." (S. Uvarov, *Desyatiletie ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya, 1833-1843,* 1864, p. 8). Or as Count A. Benckendorff, the head of the gendarmerie and one of the emperor's closest associates, put it more bluntly: "Russia is best protected from revolutionary disasters by the fact that in our country, from the time of Peter the Great, the monarchs have always been ahead of the nation. But for this very reason one should not hasten unduly to educate the nation lest the people reach, in the extent of their understanding, a level equal to that of the monarchs and would then attempt to weaken their power." (Quoted from: N. Schilder, *Imperator Nikolai Pervyi, ego zhizn i tsarstvovanie,* 1903, v. II, p. 287.)

[10]The two positions are developed well on the one hand in the abundant official material, especially from the ministry of education, and on the other in Pogodin's voluminous writings, as well as in the writings of some of his associates and friends.

crat's full endorsement.[11] Yet they became anathema to the rising nationalist spirit. Pogodin followed the Slavophile Samarin in violent attack on this dangerous, "foreign" element.[12] He demanded the abolition of the special privileged status of the Germans in their corner of the empire as unnecessary, oppressive, archaic, and insulting to the Russian people and the Russian state. He urged further a rapid Russification of the Latvian and Estonian majority of the provinces which, he felt certain, hated its ruthless German masters and longed for closer ties with the Russians. Only thus could the area be safeguarded from the German menace.

But while romantic nationalism was in many ways exclusive, it tended to be inclusive and to expand in one direction: a people became identified with its race, both the concept of race and the identification having been greatly bolstered by the development of modern philology.[13] Therefore, the rising Russian nationalism developed in the direction of Panslavism. Russia was the natural leader of the Slavs for a number of reasons. Its enormous population, size, resources, and political power, together with the subjugation, poverty, and misery of the other members of the Slavic family made Russia the obvious champion of their joint cause. Beyond that, Russia, because of its very bulk and good fortune, remained free — so the nationalists asserted — of the petty rivalries and jealousies which plagued the other Slavs. The entire miraculous history of Russia pointed to

[11]As Nicholas I explained to the errant Samarin, he could count up to 150 Baltic German generals in his army. (For the emperor's reprimand, delivered in person, see B. Nolde, *Yurii Samarin i Ego Vremya,* 1926, pp. 47-49). The actual figure was still higher; in 1850, an official report mentioned 230 Baltic German generals. (*Sbornik Imperatorskogo Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva,* v. LXXXXVIII, 1896, p. 638). Nicholas I is even supposed to have asserted: "The Russian nobles serve the state, the German ones serve us." (Presnyakov, *op. cit.,* p. 9; P. Miliukov, C. Seignobos, and L. Eisenmann, *Histoire de Russie,* 1932-1933, v. II, p. 737). "Us" refers to the imperial family.

[12]See in particular: M. Pogodin, *Ostzeiskii vopros. Pismo M. P. Pogodina k professoru Shirrenu,* 1869.

[13]Words such as "family" and "tribe," rather than "race," were used by the proponents of Official Nationality. I think, however, that their meaning in this context can be rendered in present-day English by "race."

its great Messianic future. Its late appearance on the world stage meant that time for a change of scenes had finally come. The long period of Russian historical growth and preparation promised all the more abundant results. Indeed, Russia not only represented Slavdom in its striving for a place in the sun, but, in a typically romantic paradox, it stepped forth also as the champion of all mankind, for Russia was pan-human by its nature and could thus become the moral leader and impartial judge of the strife-torn world. Only Russia could lead all the nations on earth to a true Christian enlightenment.[14]

The ambitious program of the romantic nationalists promised struggle and war, but they accepted willingly, even eagerly, this inevitable development. They were convinced that Russia, especially Russia together with the other Slavs, was invincible, and that the future belonged to them. First of all, the Turkish and the Austrian empires, the two great enslavers of Slavdom, had to be destroyed. As Pogodin insisted in regard to the Ottoman state:

> Love of man, kinship, community of faith, gratitude combine with our own present historical and political necessity to wage a war against Turkey . . .
>
> What war can be more honorable, more humane, more holy! Forward! God is with us! . . .
>
> Here is our purpose – Russian, Slavic, European, Christian! As Russians, we must capture Constantinople for our own security.
>
> As Slavs, we must liberate millions of our older kinsmen, brothers in faith, educators and benefactors.
>
> As Europeans, we must drive out the Turks.
>
> As Orthodox Christians, we must protect the Eastern Church and return to Saint Sophia its ecumenical cross.[15]

Beyond loomed the climactic struggle between the Slavs and the Germans, "hostile to the Slavs because of some physiological quality."[16] These far reaching ambitions of the romantic nationalists stood in sharp contrast to the thinking of Nicholas I and

[14]These views are most strikingly expressed in Pogodin's prose and Tyutchev's poetry. For necessary amplification and qualification see my book.

[15]M. Pogodin, *Istoriko-politicheskie pisma i zapiski v prodolzhenii Krymskoi Voiny: 1853-1856*, 1874, pp. 186-187.

[16]M. Pogodin, *Sobranie statei, pisem i rechei po povodu slavyanskogo voprosa,* 1878, p. 24.

of his government on international affairs and to their foreign policy based on the principle of legitimism and on the German alliances.[17]

The concept of "nationality" presents a fascinating picture of the rise of radical nationalism and of its efforts to supercede the older dynastic orientation. Although these efforts failed in the Russia of Nicholas I, they deserve attention both as a chapter of Russian history and an instance in the struggle and transformation of the modern world — for better or for worse — on its wayward course from Metternich to Hitler.

[17]Concerning Panslavism, the emperor expressed himself, for instance, as follows: "*Under the guise of a sympathy for the Slavic tribes supposedly oppressed in other states there is hidden the criminal thought of a union with these tribes, in spite of the fact that they are subjects of neighboring and in part allied states . . . And if, indeed, a combination of circumstances produces such a union, this will mean the ruin of Russia.*" (Barsukov, *op. cit.*, v. IX, p. 279. Italic in the original.)

The Economy of Northern Siberia, 1959-1965

By CONSTANTINE G. KRYPTON

THE economic development of northern Siberia in the current Seven-Year Plan (1959-1965) is characterized by a generous measure of moderation and prudence on the part of the Soviet planning bodies.[1] The pre-war practice of assigning capital investments to new northern enterprises and then delaying or simply stopping their construction has probably become a thing of the past.[2] This change of attitude is rather obvious in the abundant attention lavished by the Soviet government on the economic problems of the newly created Siberian enterprises. "Above all, our planning and economic bodies must take special pains to show money-saving foresight in the distribution of undertakings in various economic regions."[3]

To this end, the Soviet authorities have convened numerous regional and district conferences explicitly for the purpose of studying Siberian economic problems. "The Conference Concerning the Development of the Productive Forces of Eastern Siberia," held in Irkutsk in August 1958, played a most decisive role in drawing up the economic plans for Siberia and particularly for northern Siberia. The conference was convened under the auspices of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the State Planning Commission (*Gosplan*) and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. In addition to the representatives of regional authorities, there were present numerous well-known scholars and

[1]Northern Siberia includes the territory above a line running approximately through the following points: Tobol'sk, Veniseisk, Sovetskaya gavan'.

[2]For example, the graphite deposits of Kureika, the Iceland spar deposits along the lower Tunguska River.

[3]*Vneocherednoi XXI syezd Kommunisticheskoi partii Sovetskovo Soyuza* Stenographer's report, vol. II, Moscow, 1959, pp. 503-504.

representatives of more than three hundred research institutes, various planning boards and enterprises.[4] The total number of participants at the conference was 2500; and they delivered more than 450 reports and memoranda.[5]

The conclusions of this conference have had considerable influence on government planning for the economic development of Siberia; for it was these conclusions that Khrushchev presented to the Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party. The statements of this conference regarding northern Siberia have a special interest for us. The territory extending around the main Siberian railroad for a radius of 200-300 kilometers to the north and to the south was recommended as being of prime importance for the economic development of Siberia. As for the areas located to the north of this zone, their development should be curtailed, concentrating only on the extraction of those natural resources which are lacking in the other parts of the country.[6] The local authorities of the northern regions of Siberia accepted this statement as a directive. No exception was to be made, not even for the Magadansky *oblast'*, the most important center of the gold mining industry in the U.S.S.R.

A conference, which was convened in the city of Magadan in September 1959 for the study of the economic problems of this region, stated: "The Magadansky *oblast'* has, in addition to its gold deposits, tin, wolfram, and other valuable minerals. However, the exploitation of these minerals cannot be undertaken for at least fifteen to twenty years."[7] Under the conditions

[4]Eastern Siberia includes Krasnojursk Krai, Touvinian Autonomous Oblast', Buryat Autonomous Republic, Chitinsky Oblast' and Vakut Autonomous Republic.

[5]"Konferentsiya po razvitiyu proizvoditelnykh sil vostochnoi Sibiri." *Geografiya v shkole*. No. 6, 1958, pp. 64-66; See also Academician V. Nemchinov "Perspectivy razvitiya proizvoditelnykh sil vostochnoi Sibri" *Planovoye Khozyaistvo*. No. 11, 1958, pp. 9-17; A. Minsky "K itogam konferentsii po razvitiyu proizvoditelnykh sil vostochnoi Sibiri." *Voprosy Ekonomiki*. No. 11, 1958, pp. 154-159; N. Gerasimov "Semiletnii plan i izucheniye proixvoditelnykh sil S.S.S.R." *Voprosy Ekonomiki*. No. 4, 1959, pp. 155-156.

[6]"Konferentsiya po razvitiyu - - - - Sibiri" (cf. *supra* note 5, p. 66.

[7]"Krai nesmetnykh bogatstv." *Pravda*, Sept. 8, 1959, p. 6; See also N. Gerasimov, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-155.

imposed by the new Seven-Year Plan, the three most urgent problems in the economic development of northern Siberia are:

1) Completing the construction of the enterprises begun in the past;

2) Improving the functioning of existing enterprises;

3) Increasing the output of existing industry.

A bulletin of the Krasnojarsk Council of National Economy declares the first problem to be extremely important.[8] In the Magadansky *oblast'* not only young people sent from other areas of the U.S.S.R. but even demobilized soldiers were used to finish the construction of the Iul'tinsky mining enterprises. The exploitation of this enterprise began in October of 1959.[9]

Apropos of the improvement of existing enterprises, the Siberian authorities face two problems: 1) How to obtain better machinery, and 2) How to liquidate the insolvency of the northern enterprises. To a certain extent, the solution of the second problem depends on the first. The problem of specialized machinery for use in arctic conditions has not yet been solved. In 1959 the Magadansky conference stated: "As soon as possible, we must both create the specialized machinery necessary for the northern enterprises and we must begin to manufacture it at existing machine-building plants in the Soviet Union."[10] The same demand was iterated by the Director of the Norilsky mining enterprises.[11]

The problem of insolvency is the Achilles' heel of most Soviet enterprises, and this problem is exceptionally serious in the industries of northern Siberia. Even the enterprises of Norilsk received a state subsidy until 1958.[12]

The third basic problem is to increase production. The export of Igarka timber, which in 1958 totaled 330,000 cubic meters,

[8]B. Sergeyev "Problemy razvitiya khozyaistva Sibiri v byulletenyahk sovnarkhozov." *Planovoye khozyaistvo*, 1958, No. 12, p. 88.

[9]"Yeshcho odin kombinat v zapolyarye," *Pravda*, October 7, 1959, p. 6.

[10]"Krai nesmetnykh bogatstv." (cf. *supra* note 7)

[11]V. Drozdov, Direktor norilskovo gornometallurgicheskovo kombinata, "Zapolyarye zhdyot sovershennykh mashin." *Pravda*, Jan. 24, 1959, p. 4.

[12]According to the Norilsky Seven-Year Plan they must liquidate this situation completely and begin to make an 11% profit in 1965.

must be approximately doubled by 1965[13]; the mining of gold in the Aldansky region must be increased by 60%; the mining of mica in this region must be doubled.[14] To bolster the Norilsk economy, the Irkutsk conference even recommended providing additional capital and laborers in order to increase the production of nickel, cobalt and platinum. To more or less the same degree, a similar increase in production has been planned for the other heavy and light industries.

In the governmental planning bureaus, attention is also paid to the improvement of the economy of the natives of northern Siberia — *i.e.,* to improving the fur trade, the breeding of reindeer, and the fishing industry. But the old problem still remains: how to procure better equipment from hunting rifles to fishing boats. Simultaneously, the Soviet government is planning to attract a larger percentage of women into outdoor work (hunting, fishing, etc.).[15]

In spite of the government's anxiety to restrict financial expenditures in northern Siberia, Soviet planning bureaus envisage the possibilities of establishing new enterprises in that region during 1959-1965. The economic reason for this is the discovery of minerals and other natural resources which are lacking in the general economy of the U.S.S.R. and even in southern Siberia. The authorities are extremely interested in the establishment of such enterprises. They have criticized the Siberian geological prospecting parties for their work. The Irkutsk conference demands "the better organization and better conducting" of this exploratory work.[16] The Institute of Geophysics was established by the Academy of Sciences in Sverdlovsk for the creation of new methods of prospecting for new natural resources in Siberia.[17]

The Seven-Year Plan includes the construction of an enor-

[13]O. Stroganov. "Pyat dnei v zapolyarnom portu." *Izvestiya,* Nov. 18, 1958, p. 4; V. Reut, "Na severe dalnem," *Pravda,* Jan. 11, 1959.

[14]"Osvoyenie prirodnykh bogatstv Yakutii," *Geografiya v shkole,* No. 2, Mar.-Apr., 1959. p. 80.

[15]Shutikov, "Deputat v tundre," *Izvestiya,* Sept. 14, 1958. p. 2.

[16]A. Minsky, *op. cit.,* p. 158.

[17]"Vtoroi Ural" *Geografiya v shkole,* No. 5, 1958. p. 80.

mous diamond-mining center in northern Siberia.[18] The Siberian diamond area, which was discovered in 1954, extends from the Laptev Sea to eastern Sayan, and from the Yenisey river to the Lena. The richest deposits of this area are apparently situated in the western part of the Yakut A.S.S.R.[19] In the basin of the Vilyuy river, the government has begun the construction of a city (Mirny), which is to serve as the center of the new diamond-mining industry. Simultaneously, a hydro-electric power station is being built on the same river. The supply base for these operations is the Muktuya wharf, situated on the left bank of the Lena. In 1959, they began construction of a highway between Mirny and Muktuya through the virgin lands of the taiga. The construction of the highway is proceeding from both directions – from Mirny and from Muktuya. However, the completion of this highway will not solve the problem of transportation for the Vilyuysky diamond-mining enterprises. Muktuya itself is cut off from the outside world in wintertime, for there is no highway between Muktuya and the nearest railway station in Ust'kut (the southern gate to the Yakut A.S.S.R.). Trucks sent from Ust'kut to Muktuya must travel 1,120 kilometers along the frozen Lena under extremely difficult and sometimes dangerous conditions. At the present time, transportation to and from the diamond-mining center is chiefly by airplane.[20] It is hoped that the Yakut diamond industry will solve the problem of introducing industrial diamond techniques into Soviet industry due to a previous lack of this type of diamond.

New vistas are also opening for the development of oil and gas industries. The economic development of southern Siberia has persistently demanded oil. The authorities decided to solve this problem by constructing a gigantic pipeline for a distance of 3,700 kilometers – from Tuimazy to Irkutsk via Omsk. The first part of the pipeline (from Tuimazy to Novosibirsk via Omsk) began operation in February, 1959. The second part (from Novosibirsk to Irkutsk via Krassnoiarsk) must be finished

[18] *Vneocherednoi XXI syezd K. P.* Vol. II, p. 511.

[19] N. Nekrasov Chlen, "Formirovanie novykh krupnykh promyshlennykh raionov na vostoke." *Voprosy Ekonomiki.* No. 12, 1958, p. 42.

[20] N. Pechersky, "Ledovy perekhod." *Pravda.* March 9, 1959; I. Rozhdestvensky, "K almazam," *Provda.* Sept. 25, 1959.

by 1960. However, this source of supply is not completely satisfactory for Siberian oil needs. For example, the lack of large oil deposits locally hinders the development of the chemical industry in Siberia.[21] This situation is forcing the government to look for oil deposits in Siberia itself. At the Irkutsk conference, P. Antropov, the Minister for Geology and the Preservation of Mineral Resources in the U.S.S.R., was confident that oil resources suitable for exploitation would soon be discovered in Siberia. His proof: the geological structure of eastern Siberia is the same as that of Canada; oil has been found in Canada, therefore . . .[22]

In 1959 the Siberian Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Soviet Academy of Sciences reiterated that there are indications of large oil deposits in the middle reaches of the Ob' river, in the lower Yenisey river and in the area between the Yenisey and the Lena.[23] However, these are only "indications," and a great deal of geological prospecting is still necessary. The government intends to do this prospecting during the next few years. The general amount of geological prospecting in the U.S.S.R. during 1959-1965 will be increased by 65%; but in Siberia by 300-400%.[24]

The situation has been complicated by the skeptical attitude of some Soviet managers towards the projected Siberian oil enterprises. The former minister for the oil industry even curtailed geological prospecting in Siberia. The reason for this attitude is the very high cost of geological prospecting in northern Siberia. Some economists have even tried to prove that transporting oil from the European part of the country is more profitable than the production of oil in Siberia itself. In 1959 — the first year of the Seven-Year Plan — the technical equipment supplied for geological prospecting in Siberia was worse than

[21]N. Nekrasov, "Syryevaya baza i razvitie khimicheskoi industrii vostochnoi Sibiri," *Planovoye khozyaistvo,* No. 3, 1959, p. 78.

[22]A. Minsky, *op. cit., p.* 155.

[23]Academician A. Trofimuk, Director of the Institute of Geology and Geophysics, Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. "Poiski Sibirskoi nefti," *Pravda.* Aug. 12, 1959, p. 3.

[24]*Ibid.*

in the European part of the U.S.S.R.[25] However, if deposits suitable for exploitation are found, it is quite possible to expect the appearance of oil enterprises in northern Siberia.

A similar situation exists for the gas industry. There are indications of gas deposits in many areas of northern Siberia. The Tass-Tumusskoye gas deposit, located in the mouth of the Vilyuy river, is considered suitable for exploitation. On the basis of this deposit, the authorities are going to carry out the "gasification" of the city of Yakutsk in 1963.[26] The government is also planning the exploitation of the Beresovsky deposits in the lower Ob' river.

Transportation is still one of the most urgent problems of northern Siberia. The Seven-Year Plan is characterized by the rejection of the well-known thesis: "The decisive role in the economy of northern Siberia belongs to the Northern Sea route." It is now admitted that the decisive role belongs to the Siberian river system.[27] This statement reflects a realistic approach to the economic life of northern Siberia.[28] Its food supplies (grain, vegetables, etc.) are provided only by means of the rivers Ob', Yenisey, and Lena.[29] The majority of the industrial equipment for the northern industries and the majority of the export products from these industries are shipped via these same rivers. In the period 1959-1965 the cargo transported via the Ob', the Yenisey and the Lena must be greatly increased. For example, the cargo shipped via the Yenisey must be more than doubled.[30]

The acceptance of the "decisive role of rivers in the economy of northern Siberia" does not change however the plan for the

[25]*Ibid.*

[26]I. Rozhkov, President of the Irkutsk Branch of the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. "Yakutiye – Krai nesmetnykh bogatstv," *Pravda*. Apr. 26, 1959.

[27]V. Udovenko, "Podyem Ekonomiki vostochnykh raionov S.S.S.R. v 1959-1965 gg. *Voprosy Ekonomiki,* No. 5, 1959, p. 136. "Na Konferentsii po razvitiyu proizvoditelnykh sil vostochnoi Sibiri," *Pravda,* Aug. 23, 1958, p. 1.

[28]See my book *The Northern Sea Route and the Economy of the Soviet North,* New York, Praeger, 1956, pp. 127-135; 162-163.

[29]"Dary zemli idut na sever," *Izvestiya,* Sept. 23, 1959, p. 2.

[30]Udovenko, *op. cit.*

development of the Northern Sea route. First of all, this sea route is important as a state shipping artery; and secondly, it plays a considerable role today and will probably play a much greater role in the future economy of northern Siberia. The Seven-Year Plan gives considerable attention to the further development of this sea route. In particular, the government plans to begin the improvement of the icebreaker service. The existing icebreakers are not fully suited for arctic conditions. Their limited capacity has frequently been discussed. It is not unusual for an icebreaker to have to leave its convoy for refueling. Vessels in the arctic service lose a good deal of time waiting for an icebreaker.[31] But on the other hand, the short duration of the navigation season and the frequent changes in meteorological and glacial conditions make it imperative that arctic ships utilize every possible day for sailing.[32] Now the government plans to use atomic icebreakers for the arctic voyages. An atomic icebreaker can convoy ships for two to three years without refueling. Moreover, the driving power of an atomic icebreaker is greater than that of a conventional icebreaker; the latter have a driving force of 10,000-12,000 H.P., whereas the newly constructed "Lenin" has an impetus of 44,000 H.P.[33] This provides an opportunity for solving two problems: 1) How to extend the navigation season, and 2) How to find new and better routes through the frozen waters. Both of these problems have great economic significance. "The needs of our country demand the extension of the navigation season in the northern seas."[34] "New routes could be more profitable than the present routes."[35]

The assignment of new capital and the technical reconstruction of the Northern Sea route require an increase in its cargo turnover. The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party has

[31]Cf. *The Northern Sea Route*, chapter 4, section 1.

[32]V. G. Bakayev, Minister of the Maritime Fleet of the U.S.S.R. "Vlasteliny Arktiki," *Izvestiya*, Sept. 13, 1959, p. 2.

[33]Acadimician A. P. Aleksandrov, "Serdtse ispolina," *Izvestiya*, Sept. 12, 1959, p. 1.

[34]A. Treshnikov, "Evo zhdut v Arktike i Antarktike," *Pravda*, Sept. 13, 1959, p. 3.

[35]V. G. Bakayev, *op. cit.*

already given attention to the problem of increasing cargo turnover.[36] The development of maritime transport is connected with the expansion of trade with the countries of the Soviet bloc both in Asia and in Europe. This opens, of course, good perspectives for the Northern Sea route. However, it is necessary to resolve the question of which products should be exported from Siberia. Recently, a minister for the maritime fleet, V. Bakayev, stressed the necessity of exporting timber, coal, and various ores from northern Siberia. "The best route for the export of these products is the Arctic Sea."[37] However, there remains the problem of exporting agricultural products from southern Siberia. The whole problem of the Northern Sea route before the Russian Revolution was created by the agriculture of southern Siberia.[38] Moreover, there is the very important problem of shipping products to the Arctic. In an attempt to settle this question, the Northern Sea route was even used in 1959 to deliver six thousand tons of potatoes to the Yeniseysky north.[39]

In this article I have summarized the Soviet Union's plans for the economic development of northern Siberia during the period 1959-1965. However, it remains to be seen to what extent these plans can be realized.

[36]See the speech of former President of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. N. A. Bulganin. *XX Syezd Kommunisticheskoi partii Sovetskovo Soyuza,* Stenographers' report, vol. II, Moscow, 1959, pp. 44-45.

[37]V. G. Bakayev, *op. cit.*

[38]See my book *The Northern Sea Route, Its Place in Russian Economic History before 1917,* Research Program on the U.S.S.R. New York, 1953.

[39]Cf. "Dary zemli idut na sever."

Michael Karpovich
1888-1959

I

On November 7, 1959 the two worlds of western scholarship on Russia and of Russian culture in the free world lost one of their brightest spirits, with the death of Michael M. Karpovich, Professor Emeritus of Russian History and Literature at Harvard University. Of Michael Karpovich it can be truthfully said that the gap which his passing has left in the minds and hearts of countless devoted friends and admirers cannot be filled. Both as a teacher and a man of broad cultural initiative, Professor Karpovich touched the lives and thoughts of many hundreds of friends and students and left a deep imprint on many scholarly and cultural enterprises of lasting value.

Born at Tiflis on August 3, 1888, Michael Karpovich early showed a strong bent toward the study of European and Russian history. First, however, Michael Karpovich was to be swept by his generous faith in freedom and the Russian people into three years of revolutionary activity, between 1904 and 1907. From this participation in the strivings to reform Russia's political and social structure, he drew a deep understanding of the nature and complexities of political change. At a later stage, between 1916 and 1927, the unfolding of his scholarly interest was again both delayed and enriched by his participation first in Russia's war effort and then in the diplomatic service of the democratic Provisional Government of 1917.

It was at the Sorbonne that Michael Karpovich was first able, in 1907-1908, to plunge whole-heartedly into the study of the history of European culture. Under Luchaire he explored the unity and diversities of medieval Europe, and with Diehl the history and culture of Byzantium. Upon entering Moscow University for the second time, in 1908 (his first period there had run aground because of the turbulent political situation)

Michael Karpovich attended Kluchevsky's remarkable lectures, gaining much from this talented expositor of Russian history and Russian thought. His systematic training in sources and documents was gained in the demanding seminars of M. M. Bogoslovsky in Russian history and D. M. Petrashevsky in medieval history. After spending the winter of 1913-1914 in the libraries and repositories of St. Petersburg, Michael Karpovich presented an essay on "Alexander I and the Holy Alliance," took his State Examination, and received a diploma as Candidate of History with first class honors. From these university years dated his intimate friendship with Professor George Vernadsky. In the first two years of World War I, Michael Karpovich was able to continue his studies of history, as assistant to the Learned Secretary of the Historical Museum in Moscow.

War service saw Michael Karpovich assigned to the Office of the Minister of War, with the special task of helping to coordinate industrial production for the needs of the front. This post gave him an opportunity, unusual in a young scholar, to observe closely the making of policy and the operation of both governmental and industrial machinery. In mid-May 1917 he left Petrograd for Washington as confidential secretary to the new ambassador of the Provisional Government, Boris A. Bakhmetiev, who had known the Karpovich family from earlier days in Tiflis.

Between mid-1917 and mid-1922 Michael Karpovich served in effect as Counsellor of the Embassy of the Provisional Government in Washington. From December 1918 until June 1919 he was a member of the staff of the Russian Political Conference, which had been organized by leading politicians and diplomats of the Imperial and Provisional Governments to represent Russia's interests at the Paris Peace Conference. With the closing of the Russian Embassy in 1922, Michael Karpovich moved to New York, where he assisted B. A. Bakhmetiev in several of his enterprises, gave lectures in a number of universities, and made translations.

In February 1927 Michael Karpovich began his long and fruitful career as a Lecturer, later Professor, of Russian History at Harvard. Within a few years he had built the course of Rus-

sian history into a rich offering of political and cultural interpretation; his skill as a master of imaginative exposition was later applied in the basic course on the history of Europe for Harvard freshmen. With Samuel H. Cross, Professor Karpovich contributed to developing and strengthening the tradition of Russian studies at Harvard. At the same time, from 1928 on, he attracted and trained a succession of graduate students, although it was some years before their growing numbers made it possible to offer a formal seminar. Some measure of this fruitful influence and the gratitude which it has left behind was expressed in the *Festschrift* which was prepared by his former students and published in 1957, (*Russian Thought and Politics,* The Hague, 1957, Mouton & Co.; distributed in the United States by Harvard University Press, being Volume IV of Harvard Slavic Studies, edited by Hugh McLean, Martin E. Malia and George Fischer).

In 1949, while remaining an active member of the Department of History, Professor Karpovich also became Chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. Under his leadership the Department was expanded to include all the Slavic languages and cultures and was greatly strengthened through a series of strong appointments. On giving up his post as Chairman in 1954, Professor Karpovich was appointed Curt Hugo Reisinger Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures, and held this title as well as that of Professor of History until his retirement in 1957.

Because of his strong devotion to teaching, his unstinting generosity in launching and guiding a wide range of scholarly and cultural enterprises and his generosity in giving his time and thought to help others, Michael Karpovich's written heritage is less extensive than it might have been. A sample of his historical judgment and felicity of exposition was offered in his *Imperial Russia* (New York, 1932), as well as in his account of the economic development of modern Russia, a part of the Bowden-Karpovich-Usher volume on the *Economic History of Europe* (New York, 1937). His skill as an editor, strengthening the communication between Russian and American scholarship was demonstrated in his editorship of three volumes, in Eng-

lish, of selections from the *Outlines of Russian Culture* by P. N. Miliukov (three volumes, Philadelphia, 1943).

The careful bibliographical preparation which Professor Karpovich always considered basic to any historical enterprise was demonstrated in his review of studies of the Russian revolution, prepared for the *Journal of Modern History,* (1930). His sensitive awareness and remarkable ability of communication were demonstrated in his studies of Kluchevsky (*Slavonic and East European Review,* 1943) and on Vladimir Soloviev (*Review of Politics,* 1946). His special enthusiasm for Pushkin is reflected in several thoughtful essays. In *The Soviet Union: A Symposium* (edited by Waldemar Gurian, 1951), Michael Karpovich examined the superficial similarities and profound differences between thought control as exercised by the Imperial regime and the totalitarian Soviet assumption of a monopoly of the right to think. A deep attachment to religious values found expression in his deep respect for the indispensable freedom of the human mind and spirit and in his intolerance for any form of oppression and tyranny.

These distinguished qualities were reflected most strongly in Michael Karpovich's course on the history of Russian thought in the nineteenth century, and in the two years since his retirement, Professor Karpovich had been hard at work, with the assistance of a grant of the Rockefeller Foundation, on preparing a major study for publication. It is very much to be hoped that the manuscript can be brought to the stage of publication without doing violence to the author's own sense of perfection.

From his position of high respect within the American academic world, Michael Karpovich was also able to play a constructive role in many of the efforts of free Russian intellectuals in the immigration. He served as Executive Director of the Humanities Fund, which, founded and endowed by B. A. Bakhmetiev, has given modest but invaluable support to many talented Russian writers, scholars and artists. He gave sound advice to the Committee for the Promotion of Advanced Slavic Cultural Studies, presided over fruitfully by R. Gordon Wasson. He took an active part in the efforts of the Russian Student Fund, which helped many hundreds of promising young people

to complete their educations. From 1941 until his death he served as Editor of *Novyi Zhurnal* which has carried on, under great difficulties, the tradition of serious Russian journalism and creative writing. From its inception in 1941 the *Russian Review* has had the benefit of Michael Karpovich's active interest and sure judgment.

Through these few lines, the many students, admirers and devoted friends of Michael Karpovich express to Mrs. Karpovich and their four children their profound sympathy in this great loss. Both historical scholarship and Russian cultural life in the free world are far poorer for it.

Philip E. Mosely

II

It is inevitably a painful task to speak of a beloved master just departed: Professor Michael Karpovich of Harvard University will be long and deeply mourned by all of his numerous students, colleagues, and friends. Yet, at the same time, it is some measure of consolation to have the opportunity to recall here his great qualities as man and teacher. And it is only befitting the liveliness of his character to write of him, not in tones of present sorrow, but as he appeared so short a time ago to all who worked with him and as memory of him will remain once the shock of his loss will have softened.

I speak of Mikhail Mikhailovich — the name used by all who knew him closely — as his student from 1946 to 1951 and as his auxiliary in the teaching of Russian history at Harvard from 1951 to his retirement in 1957. It was my good fortune, then, to have known him in the decade of his greatest impact on Slavic studies in America, and most of what I can say here concerns what he stood for in this professional role. Yet it is not his public personality, eminent though it was, which comes most readily to mind when thinking of him. Mikhail Mikhailovich's first impact on those who knew him came from his moral stature as a human being; and here he was pre-eminent.

It is difficult to avoid the conventional when speaking of a man's virtues, and it is an old observation that virtue has no story or pungency. Yet the conventional is not necessarily the

usual, and virtue is still less so. Most men's characters simply fail to attract notice by the lack of any glaringly negative qualities; Mikhail Mikhailovich drew respect and affection by the conspicuousness of his positive qualities. On the larger scale of his lifetime, in spite of the dislocations of exile, of the disruption this wrought in his personal life and career and, what is more important, of the defeat of all his hopes for his beloved Russia, never did he display any of the bitterness humanly appropriate under such conditions; never once was he heard to complain. He showed forbearance and equanimity in all things. On the smaller scale of his day-to-day relations with colleagues, students and friends he displayed only openness and a profound human consideration toward everyone, and he gave of himself unstintingly to all who came to him. No one ever knew him to have an enemy, either among the Russian emigrés for whom he became a kind of living moral bond above personal or political differences, or among his American colleagues. For all who came in contact with him knew that he instinctively placed principles above power or prestige; he was unfailingly motivated by what was best in the tradition of the Russian intelligentsia from which he came: integral respect for the human worth of the individual. If a name must be applied to this quality it is one which he himself would have readily owned: humanistic liberalism; or one of wider ramifications to which he would have also subscribed: charity. To be (permissibly) partisan for a moment, Mikhail Mikhailovich's values were good ones, and he was an unusual success in terms of his own values — something which is not given to every man.

M.M.'s personal qualities were largely responsible for his success as an exponent and teacher of Russian history. His liberalism did not lead to some sort of abstract "objectivity" about Russian history (but, outside of the elementary senses of honesty and conscientiousness, he held the quest for absolute objectivity to be fruitless). He had a position which, for being subtly expressed, was nonetheless clear. His liberalism made of him what is best called a "moderate Westerner," both in what he believed was (or would have been) the desirable evolution for Russia and in his interpretation of her past. If to this it be

added that he was a product of the intellectual generation which reached maturity in the wake of the Revolution of 1905 (he was sixteen in that year), with all the constitutional hopes and revolutionary disappointments that event inspired, and whose development was capped by the shock of 1917, he is reasonably well situated in the Russian intellectual tradition.

The best way to define M.M.'s moderate Westernism is to proceed empirically rather than dogmatically, after his own manner. First of all he approved of Peter the Great, who remained something of a live historical-political issue to the end of that Imperial Russia he had founded. This allegiance meant that he was not attracted to the patriarchal glories of old Muscovy, or more exactly to those nationalist conservatives from Nicholas I and the Slavophiles to Pobedonostsev who wished to keep Russia undefiled by further Western contagion, or enlightment. For M.M. Russian history became most interesting and relevant to contemporary concerns after Peter had introduced the ferment of thought, consciously directed progress and the life of higher civilization. He frankly admired the first Russian reformer's bluff energy, his ceaseless, if heavy-handed, efforts at self- and national improvement, and above all his honesty. Catherine II, who did more than Peter to promote that intellectual questioning for which M.M. himself stood, came off less well in his opinion precisely because of the lack of correspondance between her propaganda and her politics. As the matter was once put in a lecture: "I like Peter, the man, but I don't like Catherine, the woman" — which was intended, not to diminish the Empress' achievements, but, in good liberal fashion, to put the students on guard against what M.M. was always ready to concede might be personal bias.

But M.M. became most eloquent when he reached the reign of Alexander I, for this was the beginning of Russia's universal, as opposed to purely national, significance; moreover, it was the beginning of *his* Russia. With Pushkin, Russia achieved for the first time a mature, creative culture on the Western — or simply human — model; the eighteenth century had been only imitative and preparatory. With Speransky and the Decembrists the question of liberal, humane reform was for the first time

publicly posed. For one growing up under Alexander I in the same sense that contemporary America begins with the Great Depression and the election of 1932: the living issues and modes of thought went back to that time.

For M.M. the gentry world of the period of Alexander I and Nicholas I, for all the imperfections of autocracy and serfdom, which he never minimized, was the golden age of Russian civilization: the world of the Pushkin Pleiade, of the Decembrists, of the idealist "circles" of the 'thirties and 'forties, of Turgenev, and even of Oblomov; the gentry world of which the young Tolstoy saw the decline and whose prime he later so subtly romanticized in *War and Peace*. This was the only period of Russian history about which M.M. permitted himself — and then only in most guarded terms — to become just *a little* sentimental. But this predilection had a deeper significance than mere sentiment. For this world represented the first great achievement of what may be called Russian humanism, of a profound liberalism and a diversified civilization in the lives of a minority if not in the political and social institutions of the country as a whole. That these values were expressed in a flawless and classical literary form only enhanced them in M.M.'s eyes. It is attachment to these values that made of him a Westerner, for that term in the Russian tradition does not mean imitation of things European for their own sake but the improvement of Russia according to the one, human pattern which Europe had only been the first to elaborate.

And it is attachment to these values in the form given them in this golden age which makes us add "moderate" to Westerner when speaking of M.M. There was a lack of partisan bitterness and ideological fanaticism in the opposition of the early nineteenth century which were his own; the vicious circle of reaction and revolution had not yet gone all the way in its psychological consequences. On a more concrete plane he found nothing detrimental to the cause of liberty in the thought even of the most radical Left (Bakunin excepted). On the whole, he actively if restrainedly sympathized with the Decembrists, Belinsky, and Herzen. At the same time, while remaining tolerant of the Slavophiles, especially in so far as they stood for some

liberalization, he basically was unsympathetic towards them because of what he felt was their historically distorted idealization of Muscovy and their corresponding denigration of Peter, the West, and reform.

With the change of reign in 1855 M.M. moved perceptively toward the Center. He found Chernyshevsky, Dobroliubov, and Pisarev alarming in their bitterness and narrow-mindedness, if also – he would invariably add – well-meaning in their intentions and understandable in their intransigence. He was for Herzen and against Bakunin; but even Herzen was somewhat reckless, and there was much to be said for men such as Kavelin and Chicherin. Nor did the government of Alexander II look too bad in retrospect; and M.M. always defended its record against both radical and liberal attacks, even discreetly pointing out to his American audience that in the same decade the democratic United States took a civil war to free two million slaves whereas autocratic Russia freed twenty million serfs simply by Imperial decree. With respect to the, seventies, when opposition became a shooting affair, M.M., while retaining his full respect for noble intentions, distinctly felt that the point had been reached where the choice of means was beginning to defeat the ends they sought to promote. In short, his attitude was not very different from Turgenev's at the time; indeed, in every way, intellectually and politically he was nearer to the "fathers" than to the "sons" in the famous dichotomy, and this was the essence of his moderate Westernism.

Mikhail Mikhailovich's final period of preference in Russia's past is almost too obvious to mention: it was what he always referred to, with tempered enthusiasm, as the constitutional "experiment" of 1906-1917. For all its inadequacies he felt that this was Russia's main historical chance to realize the liberal humanitarian values of what to him was the better – and he would add larger – wing of Russian public opinion. One of his main missions as a teacher was to emphasize the potentialities of this period, not as an exercise in "history in the conditional," but in order to set the record straight in all its fullness. At the same time he did not hide his sentiment that the Bolshevik victory was a catastrophe for Russia. He preferred not to lecture

on the Soviet period if he could avoid it, as he put it, for fear of being insufficiently "objective" but also, I suspect, because it was not entirely pleasant for him to chronicle the decline of the Russian humanistic tradition so painfully elaborated over the previous century. Yet, liberal even in adversity, he was extremely mild and quite "objective" when he did have to treat the Soviet regime, much more so in fact than most American commentators who never suffered from it. Once, in terminating his lectures on 1917, in order to illustrate the point that at the time no one expected the Bolsheviks to hold power, he said that he was in America when his government fell and decided to remain here "to wait and see what would happen, and I have been waiting and seeing ever since."

All these attitudes, to be sure, represent an evolution toward moderation from the opinions M.M. held in his youth. In 1905 he was an active Socialist Revolutionary, and even spent a short period in jail. But this was the most respectable and high-minded of activities for a young man under the old regime; totalitarian revolution was felt as a menace by almost no one at the time. He ceased to be associated with the S.R.'s even before the Azef scandal in 1908, and he remained nominally loyal to the party until 1917 when, during the April Crisis, he became sufficiently alarmed by the radical turn of events and to change his allegiance to the Cadets, even participating in his new party's unsuccessful street demonstration to keep Miliukov in power. And by the end of his career in this country he had come to prefer the conservative constitutionalist, Maklakov, to the radical democrat, Miliukov. Like many men of his generation he had come to look back to "the good old times of the cursed autocracy." But there is greater consistency in this evolution than at first appears. The S. R. ideology was very loose and boiled down to that belief in the right of all men to dignity which was always the basis of M.M.'s own values. His later adherence to the Cadets simply added the tenet that this right could be secured only in a regime of constitutional order and legality. Between the two revolutions M.M. had become more circumspect about means, but his ends remained unchanged.

Ideologically as well as politically the years following 1905

were crucial in M.M.'s development. He never ceased repeating in lectures that after 1905 the old intelligentsia — doctrinaire, narrowly utilitarian, and fanatical in its subordination of everything in life to revolutionary politics — was breaking up, and that a new freedom and richness were coming to pervade Russian intellectual life, producing a "silver age" only slightly less glorious than the "golden age" inaugurated by Pushkin. M.M., moreover, particularly liked to speak of this change in terms of the critique of the old intelligentsia which came from within that class in 1909, the symposium *Vekhi.* The lesson which, by 1917, he had derived from the controversy this work provoked, as in general from the silver age's liberalizing impact on the intelligentsia, can be put in a few formulae he never tired of repeating. In everything, but especially in the interpretation of history, he was a "pluralist" opposed to all oversimplified if intellectually neat "monisms." He believed in the action of human will and chance in history as opposed to all determinisms. He held to the autonomy of thought and art with respect to politics, and he equated true civilization with a diversified culture and a "market place of ideas." And all this was the intellectual counterpart of his political liberalism and his personal humanity.

To put the matter in another way, M.M. on occasion said he was a Kantian, by which he meant two things. He meant, first, the obvious: that our knowledge is real because we are capable of coherent thought, but that it is also tentative and imperfect because we in a sense fabricate it by the action of our minds — to which the practical conclusion again was tolerance, openmindedness, pluralism. But he meant also the related yet more spiritualized message of the neo-Kantianism that flourished in Russia between the two revolutions (today remembered chiefly because Lenin attacked it) and which was a pointed affirmation of human freedom, the autonomy of the inner life and, ultimately, the mystery of existence, a message again enunciated in response to the various determinisms and materialisms of the old-line intelligentsia.

Since the words spirit and mystery have been pronounced, more must be said. M.M. was a religious man and a practicing

member of the Orthodox Church. It should be added that his religion blended harmoniously with his other beliefs. Since his rationalism was of a tentative and Kantian variety, there remained vast realms beyond its reach which only faith could fill; consequently, the conflict of reason and revelation was not a problem which agitated M.M. Likewise, his humanity flowed naturally from his charity; and open-mindedness was a dictate of this same virtue as much as it was of reason or of political liberalism.

It is these attitudes which determined M.M.'s approach to the modern Russian religious tradition. His lack of sympathy for the Slavophiles derived not only from their politics but even more fundamentally from their equation of true Christianity with Russianness or Slavdom, which for him denatured charity by subordinating it to nationalist passion. This tendency became even more objectionable to M.M. in the later and cruder form of Pan-Slavism. But it was most objectionable of all in Dostoevsky, one of the few figures of Russian culture capable of eliciting from the ever tolerant M.M. strong negative adjectives. He, of course, gladly conceded Dostoevsky's genius as a writer (although he placed him lower than Tolstoy, a sentiment shared by many cultivated Russians); but he detested his vulgar and often vicious chauvinism. In similar fashion, he was hostile to the nationalistic uses of Orthodoxy – and of Dostoevsky – by Berdyaev. Among Russian religious philosophers M.M. felt most akin to Vladimir Soloviev, precisely because of his ecumenical understanding of religion and of his enlightened stand on nationalism. This affinity went even further, to Soloviev's ethics of respect and love of God in man. But he did not follow Soloviev all the way to his "misty and mystical" metaphysics; M.M. distinctly "preferred the day-time to the night-time Soloviev."

Such was M.M.'s intellectual personality as it developed in terms of Russian issues and traditions. But the questions which led to the formation of his own opinions were not those with which his students came to him at Harvard many years later – primarily after 1945 – and in another society. His efforts to meet these new questions led to new attitudes to Russia's past, which, however, developed quite naturally from the old.

It is not an exaggeration to say that much of M.M.'s American public came to him misguided; and to make the point clearer I will speak in terms of extreme cases. One type wished to study Russia in order to meet the Communist menace or, later, the better to fight the cold war. M.M. of course, had nothing against such activities in themselves, but he steadfastly if quietly refused to make a profession of anti-Communism because it led to bad history. For it reduced the study of Russia to a game of finding past precedents for present iniquities. Communist autocracy derives from tsarist autocracy; Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, and Stalin are all fundamentally the same thing. Or, Soviet expansionism is Russian imperialism in a new guise; for haven't the Russians lusted after the Straits from the Varangians to Stalin, and aren't there alarming similarities between the idea of Moscow Third Rome and the Third International? Or, Stalinist collectivism comes from the peasant commune or the Slavophiles' *sobornost;* for weren't many of the revolutionaries sons of priests or trained in seminaries? In general, in this view Russia's past is solid tyranny, barbarism, and other bad things, and Communism derives quite "logically" from them.

M.M. quite understandably did not recognize the Russia he knew in such an account, and ever so gently and patiently proceeded to point the fact out. First, there was no "logic" in Russian history "inevitably" leading anywhere; as in other countries, there were many factors in Russia's past and their resultant was the product of a complex play of circumstances (a judicious and full accounting would follow for any given problem or period). Secondly, Russia's past was not compounded only of tsarist reaction and revolutionary fanaticism; old regime Russia was a pluralistic society, with many social and intellectual groupings, of which the more moderate, "Western" ones were just as authentically native as the extremists. Finally, why explain October, 1917, or Stalin by things so remote as the Old Believers or Ivan the Terrible? Are not immediate, concrete causes both more convincing and more verifiable than sweeping metaphysical analogies? In practice, M.M.'s teaching tended to emphasize the more liberal elements in Russia's past, as well as those things which she had in common with the West, and to mini-

mize somewhat the more extravagant revolutionaries and reactionaries. But this was not the product of retrospective wishful thinking, as some at times thought. Rather it was an effort to restore to Russia, in the eyes of Americans, her full historical visage, and to do this against the pressure of crass oversimplification and ignorance.

A second type of the misguided with whom M.M. had to contend were those who came thirsting after the wild spirituality of the Russian soul as portrayed by Dostoevsky and expounded by Berdyaev. (M.M.'s aversion for these two authors doubtless arose in part from the frequency with which they were thrown at him by his students.) In this case the line went that Russia was essentially different from the shallow, dessicated West; she was uniquely and deeply spiritual. This spirituality was divine in its pure form with Dostoevsky and demonic in its perversion by the revolutionary intelligentsia, but it never was dull. Here M.M., the incarnation of the reasonable, commensurable Russia of Pushkin, Turgenev, and the Cadets, was a living refutation of the thesis. But he had intellectual arguments in abundance as well. In so far as Russian behavior was extravagant or "odd" this was to be explained by precise historical and social conditions and not by some "innate" national essence. All of the supposedly "unique" aberrations of the Russian character were simply extreme manifestations, due to harsher conditions, of radical or religious behavior all over Europe. The difference between Russia and the West was "a difference of degree, not a difference of kind." To all of the confused questions put to him by his American students, M.M. invariably answered: let us get away from abstraction and bad metaphysics and down to the concrete, historical conditions, to the precise, proximate causes. And it was a marvel to behold after he had slain a hundred times (but civilly) the hydra of incomprehension, how he would patiently remonstrate with the beast at each of its new appearances, to the very end of his days.

As a footnote to this characterization of M.M.'s intellectual personality it should be said that he himself would never have outlined so categorically as has been done here his historical and philosophical beliefs or, more especially, that he never

would have stated so baldly his personal likes and dislikes. His infinite tact and consideration for others, no matter how much he disagreed with them, precluded such categorization; the very nature of his intellectual position did so as well. Nonetheless, he *did* have a position; he was *engagé*, as all social thinkers must be, and as M.M. himself never sought to conceal for all his liberalism. I think, that in reducing his position to a pattern here, I have not done it any fundamental injustice.

And it is an important position, both in terms of Russian historiography as a whole, which in its homeland for forty years has been largely, though not wholly, diverted to propaganda, as well as in terms of the small but thriving outpost which M.M. more than any one individual, was instrumental in establishing in America. His moderate Westernism — or liberalism — may not have been very effective in changing Russian society, but it is excellent for understanding it. For liberalism, precisely because it refuses to be categorical, means sanity, balance, judiciousness — that ability "to encompass both sides of a question" and to see that "the truth is somewhere in between," which may be incapacitating under revolutionary conditions, but which more than makes up for this in the lucidity that produces good understanding of history. These were the virtues of the great — and, in varying ways, liberal — school of Russian historiography of the end of the old regime, which, following Soloviev, led to Kluchevsky, Platonov, Miliukov, Kizevetter, and M.M.'s uncle, Presniakov, a school which came to full fruition simultaneously with the "silver age" of Russian culture, but which itself was the golden age of Russian historiography. It was this school, struggling for lucidity between the pressures of too much reaction and too much revolution, on which M.M. was reared, and whose spirit he so successfully transplanted to America to survive the pressures of the Communist menace and the Russian soul. This was the spirit and these were the virtues of which all Russian studies in this country were most in need amidst the turmoils of the cold war; and American historians of Russia in particular have been more than fortunate to have M.M. as one of their principal patrons. They will no doubt go beyond his

own contribution – and he would have been the first to have wished them to do so – but they can hardly go against it.

Martin E. Malia

III

Michael Karpovich was a great Russian scholar, equally at home in history and literature. More than that, he was a mellow humanist, esteemed and loved by all who knew him, a man who brought to America, his adopted country, some of the finest fruits of Russian and European culture.

If he did not leave as large a legacy of printed works as some other scholars in his field, this was because of his devotion to his academic work and to his students, for whom his care and thoughtfulness were legendary, and because he gave unstintingly of his strength and time to many intellectual and humanitarian enterprises outside his regular teaching duties. Associated with *The Russian Review* from the time of its establishment, his counsel, co-operation and experience were of inestimable benefit to this publication. He was also the moving spirit in the Russian quarterly *Novy Zhurnal*, which kept alive Russian cultural traditions and furnished an outlet for memoirs, poems, reminiscences, historical sketches, and fiction contributed by Russians living abroad.

Karpovich was a vital influence on the development of Russian studies in the United States. As one of his Harvard colleagues, Professor Horace Lunt, observed, the majority of teachers of Russian history in American universities are former students of Karpovich. Shortly before his retirement an impressive group of these former students prepared a *Festschrift* in his honor. Each contributed an essay on some aspect of Russian or East European studies. This memorial volume, a labor of common esteem and devotion by men who found in Karpovich a formative influence in their training, might recall the old Latin saying:

Si vis monumentum, circumspice.

Karpovich was as popular with undergradute students as with graduates pursuing specialized studies. As himself a graduate

student at the University of Moscow Karpovich enjoyed the rare privilege of listening to the brilliant and witty lectures of V. O. Kluchevsky, whose history of Russia is unique for its wit and profound insights into the forces that shaped Russia's destiny.

Leaving Russia for what he thought would be a short trip on a mission for the Provisional Government in 1917, Karpovich remained in America when the Bolshevik victory swept away the hope that, after the collapse of Tsarism, Russia would possess the free institutions for which so many had worked and suffered.

His courses at Harvard in Russian history and Russian literature were enormously popular. Like his own master, Kluchevsky, he became a magnet for students and his last lecture, devoted appropriately enough to the March Revolution, was the occasion of a standing ovation by more than 200 students who were present. He left Harvard with the double reputation of a mature scholar and an inspiring teacher.

He possessed in remarkable degree the gift of making the personalities and events of the Russian past come alive. When he discussed more modern times his lectures were enriched by illustrative material drawn from his own experience and lit up by characteristic quiet humor. His grasp of his material never failed; the organization of his talks was firm and lucid.

He planned to devote his years of retirement to work on a ten-volume history of Russia, in which he was collaborating with his retired colleague at Yale, Professor George Vernadsky. Ill health and death prevented him from carrying out this project; historical scholarship is the loser.

Michael Karpovich is a typical representative of a large band of Russian scholars and intellectuals who, driven from their homeland by the uprooting storm of a totalitarian revolution, made significant contributions to the intellectual life of their countries. This is not surprising, for Russian refugees from Communism, especially the first and largest wave, constitute one of the most highly educated groups in the world.

More than once, visiting a small college town in the United States or Canada, I have found that perhaps the only Russian there was teaching in the local college. Russia's loss, under

Soviet rule, was the gain of the Western world. Uprooted Russian intellectuals contributed as much to their adopted countries as the Huguenots whom Louis XIV drove out of France or the Byzantine scholars who helped light the lamps of the Renaissance after Constantinople fell to the Turks.

Karpovich embodied in his own personality the finest traits of the pre-war Russian intelligentsia; he was a liberal in the truest and broadest sense of that much abused word. His own ancestry reflected Russian political vicissitudes and the multinational character of the old Russian Empire. One of his forefathers was a banished Polish revolutionary; his birthplace was Tiflis, the picturesque historic capital of Georgia. So he was predisposed both against Russian chauvinism and against the anti-Russianism of some embittered members of the non-Russian nationalities.

It was a subject of justified pride with Karpovich that he always remained on good terms with other Russians in exile, no matter how much they might differ among themselves. His own serene, mellow liberalism was alien to any kind of fanaticism; but in that liberalism there was no touch of softness toward Communism.

During the Second World War, when some Russians in exile were affected by nationalist enthusiasm, Karpovich always drew a sharp line of distinction between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Stalin's tyranny. He would work for Russian War Relief; he would not take part in any ceremony that glorified the Bolshevik Revolution. In recent years a scholar of the standing of Karpovich would probably have received red carpet treatment if he had gone to Moscow. He preferred not to go to a country ruled by a police regime which made it dangerous or at least undesirable for his relatives to communicate with him.

There was accidental symbolism in the fact that Karpovich, the representative of the liberal Russia which could not but say "No" both to Tsarism and to Communism, died on the forty-second anniversary of the revolution which, whatever its other achievements, ruthlessly destroyed those values of political and

intellectual liberty to which Michael Karpovich attached supreme importance and by which he lived.

William Henry Chamberlin

IV

Others have written of M. M. Karpovich as a historian, teacher, and public figure. Here I would like to add a few personal reminiscences of him.

Mikhail Mikhailovich, as he was called by all his Russian friends, was that rarest phenomenon among Russians — an even-tempered, well-balanced man of moderate views. During twenty years of association with him on *The Russian Review* I cannot recall his ever being angry or losing his temper. Perhaps the closest he came to irritability was the "Angel" episode. In the early years of *The Review* a good deal of the editorial work was accomplished by a three-cornered correspondence between M.M., W. H. Chamberlin, and myself. Occasionally there were slip-ups in consultation. At one time, I remember, M.M. accepted for publication a translation of the famous poem of Lermontov, "The Angel." The other two editors, however, selected another translation of the poem by a second contributor, and published the poem, somehow without M.M. being notified. He then wrote me: "The only reason why you put me in such an awkward position is that you know that I am better-natured than you are."

In the course of the years there were a number of editorial upheavals, especially during and immediately after World War II. In such cases M.M. always acted as moderator and invariably brought about some compromise.

The demands on M.M.'s time were tremendous and his generosity was legendary. Time and effort spent by him on Ph.D. theses were far beyond the call of duty. As others have noted, the work of his students was more important for him than his own.

He was in constant demand as a lecturer among Russian émigrés. This was natural, since he was an excellent speaker

and probably was the one Russian acceptable to émigrés of every shade of political opinion — a no mean achievement. He never declined these lecture invitations, burdensome and unrewarding as they often were.

As an associate editor of *The Russian Review*, he took endless pains in criticizing the mss, in detecting historical errors and inaccuracies, and for a time, even helping with proofreading. In the, forties, when he was most active on *The Review*, I used to receive regularly fifteen to twenty pages of comment and criticism, all written in longhand. Once he confessed to me that at times when the pressure of work would get too great he deliberately hid his unopened mail, thus letting time solve some of the problems.

One couldn't imagine a better companion. During the past decade, when I went to Cambridge, several times each year, we would meet at St. Clair's restaurant near The Yard. M.M. was always cheerful and full of amusing stories. Extremely observant and possessed of a highly developed sense of humor, he yet never indulged in gossip or spoke unkindly of others. He had, in fact, the strongest distaste of hurting anyone. By way of disapproval, he would say: *"Da on ne geroi moego romana,"* "Yes, he is not a hero of my novel." Then the subject would be dropped.

Two of M.M.'s remarks made about a year and a half ago remain in my memory. Once, when I enthusiastically described my trip to the Far East and India to him, he observed: "You know, Asia has never really attracted me. The older I grow, the more I feel at home in Western Europe." The other remark was *à propos* of Khrushcheve's "thaw" and the Soviet-American cultural exchanges of which he strongly approved. "Soviet Communism," he said, will someday evolve into a system closer and more acceptable to us; it will be a pity if we don't recognize these changes when they occur."

I have seldom known anyone who had his rare ability to bring out the best in people. His transparent honesty and inward nobility communicated themselves and one simply couldn't

be mean or petty in his presence. I do not know the nature and extent of M.M.'s religious beliefs. I do know, however, that he was basically an optimist and had a strongly affirmative attitude toward life. I have been told that shortly before his death, when he was intermittently unconscious and could not always distinguish between dreams and reality, he said to those present: "You may think that this is the end, but *I know* that it is only the beginning."

Dimitri von Mohrenschildt

Book Reviews

TREADGOLD, DONALD W. *Twentieth Century Russia.* Chicago, Rand McNally, 1959. 550 pp. $7.00.

This clear, unified, comprehensive account of Russia's development during the last three-score years is a major achievement. It is based on solid knowledge of the available specialized studies. Many of those novel interpretations hitherto available only in articles or monographs, and hence favored by lecturers in order to demonstrate their own vast erudition, will have to be treated differently now that Professor Treadgold has made them available to the textbook-reading public.

In his twenty-eight carefully-proportioned chapters, about one-tenth of the space is devoted to the pre-twentieth-century background, two-tenths to the story from 1900 to October, 1917, two-tenths to the Soviet decade from 1917 to 1927, three-tenths to the period from 1928 to 1945, and two-tenths to the years from 1945 to 1958. Within the various chronological segments, too, the allocation of space is admirable, except for a regrettably brief treatment of the Kokovtsev era, 1911-1914.

Economic, social, and intellectual developments are skillfully kept in view along with the political narrative. Soviet foreign relations are treated globally in appropriate perspective. Significant omissions are few. As this reviewer could be expected to notice, the Party-sponsored youth organizations, which are so characteristic a feature of the growth of Soviet totalitarianism, are dismissed in a mere six lines. Other readers might regret more keenly the relatively scanty treatment accorded Russian economic growth before World War I, or the small amount of space given to some aspects of Soviet indoctrination. But in view of the difficulties he faced in following so many topical strands simultaneously, Professor Treadgold's integrative skill is remarkable.

The opening pages, under the label "from absolutism to totalitarianism," constitute a superb presentation of some of the main problems of Russian history. The first full chapter, entitled "the Russian people," is a brilliant synthesis of the ideas of many of the most notable historians and interpreters of Russia. As the story progresses, Professor Treadgold carries the reader along by the sheer wealth of information and insight he packs into his paragraphs. His directness and clarity possess their own kind of eloquence. His wry humor is restrained and apt. He avoids superfluity, although he does occasionally quote from secondary works in places where references to primary sources would be more effective. He shuns vague speculations about imponderables, and prefers limited judgments of specific issues. This does not prevent him from expressing his views on the nature of the Soviet system. In one passage, for example, he observes that:

"The underlying assumption of certain students of the Five-Year

Plans, and of many influential persons in the so-called 'underdeveloped areas' in recent years, has been that the chief Soviet objective is 'economic development.' Yet the Communists have never contended that their main aim was to increase output, nor does the evidence indicate that it has been such in fact. Their aim has been rather to achieve a transformation of society in which industrial growth is only one aspect, related to a much broader and more fundamental set of changes in men's way of life, attitudes, and allegiances." The methods of the Communists are, he declares, designed "not to build a healthy economy, but to strengthen the totalitarian system, to which end the physical and moral well-being of the Soviet worker and consumer is ruthlessly sacrificed."

Some minor items should be noted for the assistance of instructors who use this book in its first edition. On p. 7, "southwest of the Aral Sea" should read "south*east*." On p. 73, "Sha-ho River" should be simply "Sha River," since *ho* means "river" in Chinese. On p. 82, the word "macerated" seems inappropriate. On p. 153, the implication should be avoided that Chicherin took over the foreign commissariat before Brest-Litovsk. On p. 165 and again on p. 208 appears the common error about a supposed "five-to-one preponderance" of the urban population over the rural in representation under the Soviet constitutions of 1918 and 1923. (Since the towns were allotted one deputy for each 25,000 *electors* and the rural areas for each 125,000 *inhabitants*, the urban preponderance would have been much less than five to one.) The discussion of "building socialism" (e.g., p. 225) needs a more explicit description of the peculiar regime the Bolsheviks had in mind when they said "socialism." On p. 387, the spelling should be "Osvoboditel'n*aia*." On p. 432, the particular "Suchow" that is apparently meant could be more clearly identified either by using the Wade-Giles spelling (Hsüchou) or by using the town's alternate name (T'ungshan); and the phrase "just south of the Grand Canal" could well be replaced by something more precise, since the Canal is several hundreds of miles long and runs more north-south than east-west. On p. 449, the Russian should be "nevozvrashchentsy." On p. 452, the Crankshaw book mentioned was published in 1956. All of those, and whatever other slips are uncovered by other reviewers, can easily be taken care of in the book's next printing.

And certainly it will go through many more printings, for Professor Treadgold has performed his task with distinction. He can take pride in having made an outstanding contribution to the teaching of Russian history.

RALPH T. FISHER, JR.
University of Illinois

ANDERSON, M. S. *Britain's Discovery of Russia, 1553-1815*. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1958. 245 pp. $6.75.

In the first part of his book Dr. Anderson seeks to recreate a mental image of the Russian state and of Russian people entertained in Britain from the first Anglo-Muscovite contacts in mid-sixteenth century to the end of the Napoleonic Wars (chapters I-IV). In the second part he analyzes the place that the British public assigned to Russia in the political system of Europe in

1725-1815 (chapters V-IX). Nearly four-fifths of the book are devoted to the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. This is as it should be, although in the age of Elizabeth, of all the Western nations the English were the best informed on Russia, and in point of perspicacity no Western commentator on Russian affairs has surpassed Fletcher, whose *Of the Russe Commonwealth* appeared in 1591. However, Anglo-Russian relations in the sixteenth century were limited mainly to commerce and in the seventeenth century they languished, as the Dutch assumed the role of chief intermediary between Russia and the West. Anglo-Russian relations assumed a regular and permanent character only in the time of Peter the Great, shortly after both Britain and Russia had emerged as great powers in Europe; but only toward the end of the eighteenth century did they become sufficiently close and complex to warrant our using the term "crisis" in speaking of the tensions and occasional quarrels between the two countries.

It is not surprising that the Englishman who thought of Russia at all should have pictured it as a distant, enormous, and very cold plain, the home of barbarism, superstition, and unbridled tyranny. Such fragmentary, distorted images and hackneyed generalizations about foreign nations are common in the minds of any semi-informed public, in our own day or several hundred years ago. Dr. Anderson shows the persistency of these notions as late as the nineteenth century, in spite of a vast increase in the bulk of available information. For a long time, however, there were enormous gaps in the intelligence at hand: for instance, as late as 1791 no chart of the Black Sea was to be found in London.

The unflattering picture that the British, with a few notable exceptions, had of Russia had remarkably little effect on political relations between the two states. Rationalist eighteenth-century statesmen did not consider angelic purity an indispensable quality in one's ally. Apart from the period of tension in 1716-1727, Anglo-Russian relations were amicable, and it even became an established tenet in Britain that Russia was Britain's "natural ally." Such diverse individuals as the Elder Pitt, George III, and Charles James Fox shared this assumption. Rightly or wrongly, the British public had come to believe that any aggrandizement of Russia — in the Baltic area, in Poland, and especially in the Mediterranean — was bound to hurt France, the hereditary and implacable foe of Britain. This belief was not shaken even by the Seven-Years War in which, technically speaking, Britain and Russia fought on opposite sides. Catherine's Armed Neutrality of 1780 and her subsequent association with the Habsburg-Bourbon bloc began to undermine British confidence in Russia. But when the Younger Pitt attempted to redress the balance on the Continent by opposing the extension of Russian influence in the Black Sea region, and had brought England to the brink of war with Russia in 1791, his efforts collapsed, for the British public refused to follow him. The chapter on the crisis of 1791 occupies the focal place in Dr. Anderson's book: it affords the author an opportunity to examine the attitudes of various segments of the British public, to tie in the image of Russia with the party structure in Britain, as well as

to assess the role of progaganda that Count Vorontsov, the Russian ambassador, carried on in London. It is here that Dr. Anderson makes his greatest contribution to our understanding of Anglo-Russion relations. The last three chapters deal with the impression produced in Britain by the second and third partitions of Poland, by the vagaries of Paul I, and by the conduct of Alexander I during the Napoleonic Wars. Here again the story is skillfully interwoven with the party structure of England and, by implication, with the revolt of the radicals and of the future romantics against the older eighteenth-century patterns of thought.

A review cannot do justice to all the interesting subjects which Dr. Anderson probes in his book. For his amply documented study the author has pursued an enormous number of sources of every kind. It is doubtful that additional material would seriously affect his conclusions, though some sidelights could probably be added by an analysis of William Penn's relations with Peter the Great and of the interesting pages devoted to Russia in Defoe's *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. It is also conceivable that a closer scrutiny of the writings of Laud, Andrewes, and of other "High Church" Anglicans of the seventeenth century might yield some material for a picture of the Russian Church as seen by the Church of England.

The results of Dr. Anderson's research are stated clearly, concisely, and with discrimination; they supplement, and on some points correct, D. Gerhard's *England und der Aufstieg Russlands* (Munich and Berlin, 1933). The author's meaning is not obscured by statistical tables, his scholarly perception is not stultified by teamwork, and his presentation is refreshingly free of any reference to this morning's headlines. In short, this is a thoroughly sound treatment of an important subject. It is to be hoped that someone will undertake a parallel study of "Russia's discovery of Britain": an exploration of the image of Britain in the minds of Bestuzhev-Riumin, Potemkin, the Panins, the Vorontsovs, and of other Russian statesmen, which might produce interesting results and complete our picture of Anglo-Russian relations in the eighteenth century.

Andrew Lossky
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Bill, Valentine T. *The Forgotten Class. The Russian Bourgeoisie from the Earliest Beginnings to 1900.* New York, Praeger, 1959. 229 pp. $5.00.

The bourgeoisie, i.e. an educated and self-reliant middle class, began to develop in Russia only in the second half of the nineteenth century. History was not kind to it: in 1917 it died a violent and premature death. Yet, as Dr. Bill demonstrates, it will not be right to conclude that the Russian people lacked the capacity or inclination for private enterprise. The contrary is attested by the flourishing trading communities of ancient Kiev and Novgorod, the thrifty traders and merchants of sixteenth and seventeenth century Moscow, and the rising entrepreneurs of the nineteenth. Unfortunately, the Russian commercial and industrial classes have been largely neglected by historians and, moreover, the nineteenth century writers presented a

highly distorted picture of them. This pioneer study attempts to redress this historical injustice.

The study starts with a chapter on the Morozov family, prototypes of the American Astors and Vanderbilts. This family in three generations "rose from serfdom to the mastery of a mighty organization of money, machines, and men." Some of its last representatives were not only patrons of the arts but displayed unusual artistic interests and talents.

Three chapters are devoted to the merchants and traders of Kiev, Novgorod, and Moscow. One of these, "A Puritanical Goad" discusses the association of the merchant world with the Old Believers and raises the interesting issue whether "the religious zeal of Old Believers stimulated sober economic virtues and disciplines, as the doctrines of Western Protestantism are said to have done in Europe and America."

One chapter is devoted to the railroads and another to the way of life of the nineteenth century Moscow merchants. In this chapter Dr. Bill points out that the bourgeoisie "did not warm to the brilliance of Western ideas as the nobility had done." What attracted them most was not abstract ideas, but music, painting, the theater. The Mamontovs, Tretiakovs, Morozovs, and Shchukins were lavish collectors as well as generous patrons of the arts.

In the chapter "A Distorted Image" Dr. Bill describes the rift between the intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie and analyzes the biased, gloomy, presentation of the merchant world in the writings of such specialists on the subject as Saltykov-Shchedrin, Ostrovsky, and Gorky. "The great nineteenth century writers beginning with Pushkin," the author observes, "Condemned, each in his own way, the world of acquisition and established the mood of hostility toward a monetary society which permeated Russia's intellectual and literary world throughout the nineteenth century." In general this was no doubt so, but there were exceptions. Belinsky, for example, in the 1830's thought highly of the bourgeoisie and held that Russia's bright future would depend on the development of this class. It might have been appropriate also to discuss in this connection the debates on capitalism in the last decade of the nineteenth century. There was a time when Lenin himself thought that capitalism had taken root in Russia and that it was proper and good since this was a confirmation of Marx's theories.

The Forgotten Class is based on extensive reading of the available monograph material, biographies, and works of fiction of the principal writers on the bourgeoisie. Strictly speaking it is not a very systematic study, but rather a series of essays on the various aspects and stages in the development of the bourgeoisie as a class. Nevertheless, Dr. Bill has opened a neglected field and made an interesting and valuable contribution to Russia's social history.

DIMITRI VON MOHRENSCHILDT
Dartmouth College

ARMSTRONG, JOHN A. *The Soviet Bureaucratic Elite—A Case Study of the Ukrainian Apparatus.* New York, Praeger, 1959. 174 pp. $6.00.

Mr. Armstrong has sifted through a wealth of material and come up

with a reasoned and well-balanced analysis of the middle level apparatus in the Ukraine. The nature of totalitarian societies is such that they are gigantic bureaucracies, extending to all phases of society. In the book under review the author limits his analysis primarily to a study of the Party and State bureaucracies, and, more specifically, the "bureaucratic elite." Half of this elite is said to be composed of Party officials, with most of the remainder consisting of officials in the state bureaucracy. The reader may be confused by this separation of State and Party, but any misunderstanding is averted when the author later states that "there is such a high degree of interchange between the middle levels of the state and Party bureaucracies that it is impossible to look upon these organizations as separate elite segments." He also points out, quite correctly, that the elite, defined in terms of a group participating in decision-making, is not composed of all members of the Communist Party, but only of those members who devote their entire efforts to the Party – in other words, full-time workers.

The author has centered his attention on the middle level elite of the Ukrainian apparatus, found in the *oblast*, and it is his hope that the analysis which he has undertaken will help to reflect the nature of the middle level of the Soviet elite in general. Whether all features are the same is perhaps questionable, but many conclusions are certainly valid. The powerful position of the first secretary of the *obkom*, and to a lesser extent that of the chairman of the executive committee, is vividly brought out, and there is no question as to the dominating position of the Party in all fields. Access to the most important party positions is governed by a successful showing on the oblast level, and it is here that one finds the real proving ground for the Soviet bureaucratic elite.

The author states that even prior to the death of Stalin there was present in the Ukraine "collective leadership" in the form that it has taken in the Soviet Union following his demise. Since 1938, the year which the author has chosen as the starting point for his analysis, the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party has met with regularity and has acted as a consultative group and a platform for discussion. The author suggests that because of the existence of an "oligarchic" rather than an "autocratic" form of government in the Ukraine, members of the Ukrainian elite who have since moved up to positions of power in the U.S.S.R. are the most capable of adapting themselves with facility to the nature of Soviet rule today. This is a controversial point, but it is certainly a provocative thought. Mr. Armstrong advances several other interesting ideas, as well as much factual information, and one can be grateful for the appearance of this valuable study.

John Hodgson
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Dziewanowski, M. K. *The Communist Party of Poland – An Outline of History.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1959. 369 pp. $7.50.

M. K. Dziewanowski's *The Communist Party of Poland* claims to be no more than an outline of history, a beginning. It is just that, but it is a beginning rich in possibilities.

The book fills a long-felt need for a comprehensive study of the Polish Communist movement so far available only in fragments, in biased accounts or, at best, as in Branko Lazitch's "Les Partis Communistes d'Europe," in summary catalog form. Both the merits and the shortcomings of the book seem to lie in the richness of the documentary material and in the staggering magnitude of the task.

The result is a little misleading at first. A first reading gives the impression of an undue telescoping of events, a scurrying over interesting territory, punctuated by tantalizing reference notes, and expressed in a clipped, dehydrated language. The mind is jolted by the sudden introduction into the very vortex of activity of key personages – Gomulka and Osobka-Morawski to mention but two – and the equally sudden disappearance of others. Curiosity is aroused, but not fully satisfied by fascinating descriptions of the events leading up to October 20, 1956, and by speculations concerning the liquidation of the party by Stalin in the years 1937-38. Some omissions are puzzling – for example, no direct mention is to be found of the powerful Pax organization and only a brief reference to it is made in connection with a paragraph on Piasecki. The first, general impression, therefore, tends to be that haste and undue condensation are dominant.

On closer examination, however, it is found that what originally appeared hurried and superficial is, in fact, a powerful synthesis of vast source material and the quintessence of painstaking research. In tackling a job of such proportions, the author was compelled to convey in every sentence the essence of his factual groundwork and to suggest the direction and possibilities of further inquiry. A history of the Communist party of Poland, after all, becomes imperceptibly the history of Poland necessitating excursions into such diverse fields as economic planning, administrative and legal structure, Church-State relations, and international policy. Dziewanowski's rapid progress through the mass of background data is sure-footed, and his interpretations of intricate policy problems reveal a balanced judgment that is not out of touch with the general trend of popular sentiment in Poland. This is apparent in the author's discussion of the rift between the nation and the party, and of the process whereby this rift was transformed into a live-and-let-live compromise in the crucial months preceding October, 1956. The party's reserve army of unemployed leaders of its nationalist wing became an invaluable asset at a time when the party finally found itself threatened with expropriation by a nation at bay. The three-faced – nationalist, "Luxemburgist," and pro-Soviet – character of the party is carefully traced through the years back to the early days of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, the Communist Party of Poland, and the infantile disorders of the Polish Workers Party.

Dziewanowski's work is, therefore, valuable in two principal ways. It is a good general manual on the subject of the Communist movement in Poland, and it provides an excellent starting point for further inquiry, mainly thanks to its rich biography and notes. As such, the book is an indispensable

tool for a clearer understanding of Communist genealogy, strategy, and tactics.

JAN S. PRYBYLA
The Pennsylvania State University

PASTERNAK, BORIS. *Poems*. Trans. by Eugene M. Kayden, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1959. 194 pp. $3.95.

This is the largest and probably the most representative selection of Pasternak's poetry in English, with only a few of his best poems missing, such as "Davai ronyat' slova" or "Marburg."

In the preface — which contains an interesting letter from Pasternak — the translator says that he has "not aimed to make [his] version faithful to schoolroom notions of cramped accuracy — but faithful to the spirit of Pasternak's vision of life." Statements like this sound impressive, but they may also conceal a disregard for poetic form. I am afraid this is exactly what has happened in many translations in this book. As many admirers of Pasternak's talent know, in his poems the unique vision of life is inseparable from their verbal texture and is often evoked by means of a highly original use of, or experimentation with, the verse structure. These admirers would hardly recognize their favorite poet if his lines lacked his special treatment of tropes, his use of diction, or his very individual alliteration and rhyme.

Mr. Kayden wisely ignores, for the most part, the rhyme in Pasternak's late poetry, and he correctly feels he cannot do the same with earlier poems in which rhyme, as the poet himself says, is "talon na mesto u kolonn," i.e., a ticket admitting one into poetry. However, instead of doing his best or giving up, the translator provides poems with rhymes of dubious quality, mostly in the even lines only, which makes Pasternak look like a poetaster. Pasternak's deservedly famous alliteration, which astounds the reader with its richness and introduces new meanings, is very seldom taken care of. Thus we do not hear even a single one of the seven kisses in "Intoxication," and the whipping end of "Fresh Paint" is deprived of all its force, to give only two examples. On the other hand, Mr. Kayden complicates Pasternak rhythmically by continuous and annoying *enjambements*, which are actually used by the poet only sparingly. One can easily observe in "Hamlet" the harm done by it.

Anyone who has read Pasternak in the original knows the virtuosity with which he uses colloquialisms. However, Mr. Kayden is inclined to make Pasternak smoother and more "poetical," and, instead of the English equivalents of say, *isshmyótan* or *nautyók*, the reader is apt to come across an uncalled for "behold" (p. 16). Kayden's Ophelia comes "with wild and bitter dreams to pine" (p. 12) whereas in the original she is "sick and tired of the bitterness of dreams" (*ostochertéla*). Many poems from *The Second Birth* particularly suffer from this, and Pasternak's wise or impassionate chat becomes a succession of solemn, even pompous clichés. The poems from *Dr. Zhivago* could also gain from an injection of colloquialisms (especially, "March" and "August"). Instead, Kayden gives the Virgin in the Breughel-like "Star of Nativity" the sentence "Abide ye a while."

Continuing along these lines, the translator makes Pasternak sound clear and smooth where he is obscure or syntactically confusing, as, e.g., in the end-stanzas of "About My Verses" and "Fresh Paint"; neither does he like the poet being elliptic, which is one of Pasternak's most typical characteristics. In the original of the poem on p. 27, for instance, Pasternak carefully avoids specific subjects when speaking about the Demon; even his hair is not mentioned, and we deduce that it is hair from the fact that it "crackled like phosphor." In the translation everything is mentioned, and Mr. Kayden continues his destruction of Pasternak's ellipsis with additions, such as "I'll bring *the rain*" (p. 5), "stifled *mind*" (p. 13), "*even* like those" (p. 40) and many others. He also adds when there is no ellipsis at all, introducing the inevitable "fogs" in "Shakespeare," forgetting that fogs would be probably the last thing to be mentioned by Pasternak in a description of London. In the same manner, on p. 157, Russians eat "porridge" for breakfast before going to work, whereas in the original the food is not specified. Besides, "porridge" is not eaten for breakfast in Russia.

One can easily see that such translating habits lead to distortions of various sorts. Thus, descriptions become tropes (nightingales on p. 51, chintz on p. 16, tracks on p. 83, and there is in the latter, no indication in the original *whose* tracks they are!). Pasternak's well-known device of ascribing the poet's or other people's feelings to surrounding objects or parts of landscape is often "corrected" by the translator who thus "restores" the original perspective. Thus, not the dawn but the poetess Akhmatova is "bent above the work" (p. 86) and on p. 23, "we longed" instead of "the summer was stretching" as in the original. Mr. Kayden at times tends to give his own meaning to a poem. The ending of the poem on p. 47, for example, does not give any reason to believe that Pasternak is speaking about his "country in flames." The connotations are rather erotic.

Finally, there are plain errors. In Russian, *sadók* is a "fish hatchery," not a "garden" (p. 13), and *záychiki* should mean on p. 95 "reflections of sunbeans," not "rabbits" (who are even provided with a "retreat"). On p. 40, it is Ancaeus (or Anceus) who takes part in the Calydon hunt, not Actaeon, though both were unfortunate victims of Diana. Yaroslavna in the "Igor-Tale" was not "a queen" (p. 193). The enumeration of defects, mistakes, and inexactitudes could be continued, but it is more important for us to see their cause, which is Mr. Kayden's entirely unprofessional approach to translating. The desire to catch the "spirit" of the original inevitably leads to such things if one is oblivious of the fact that a translation is first of all a true copy, and a translator should clearly see all important details of poetic structure and try to reproduce them in another language, even if according to "schoolroom notions of cramped accuracy."

Mr. Kayden would often rather interpret Pasternak in his own way. This is especially clear when one reads his commentaries, in which "To a Friend," one of the poet's simplest pieces, receives a completely irrelevant analysis. This analysis, however, explains why the translation of this poem on p. 85 has so little in common with what Pasternak really wrote. The famous

words "What century is outside, my dear children?" are not shouted through a *fortka* anymore; instead, the poet "flings the . . . window wide" (p. 3), though Mr. Kayden should know that, in wintertime, one has first to remove the putty with a knife to be able to do it. But it is not his lack of knowledge of Russian or the Russian way of life that leads to all this, but rather his wish to present Pasternak in all periods of his works as a post-Zhivago hero of the free world, a fighter against all darkness, an incorrigible optimist, a twentieth-century Pangloss. This is why we get "the themes of freedom, life and fate" (p. 173), "new age of brotherhood" (p. 133), "chin up, and grin" (p. 107) or "the strong in hope endure" (p. 118). Pasternak never wrote any of these platitudes. In fact, the latter is simply a misunderstanding, since "the strong" in the original are the Soviet authorities who planned "a liquidation of the remnants of capitalism in the consciousness of Soviet people" during the second five-year-plan period (see Molotov's speech).

How mistaken a translator's ideas about the "spirit" of the original can be is clearly seen from the review of this book in *Time* (October 19, 1959), in which the critic, obviously under the influence of Mr. Kayden's commentary, saw in Pasternak's famous lines about the air is "blue like a bundle of linen a discharged patient takes home from the hospital" nothing less than T. S. Eliot. Actually, as written by Pasternak, there are no symbols of "ailing culture" (p. 190) in the poem. It is simply an astonishingly fresh, almost expressionist, portrayal of a spring as seen by a poet as if for the first time in his life. It is written in the familiar way of ascribing one's own feelings to the scenery around. Actually, the poet, not the poplar, stands amazed, he, not the horizon trembles; he, not house, is afraid he may fall. One should always remember D. S. Mirsky's very correct remark about Pasternak's, "almost mathematical precision and exactness of . . . imagery." It seldom allows for several interpretations.

To be sure, some of Kayden's translations are quite good ("The Racing Stars," "First Snow," "Cocks," many late poems), but the Pasternak of the famous first four books is often distorted beyond recognition, and this is very regrettable since it is precisely these poems that made him famous and dear to many lovers of poetry. Babette Deutsch's and Sir Maurice Bowra's translations (Cohen's are full of mistakes and L. Slater's are unknown to me), while of superior quality, are still, on the whole, preferable to Mr. Kayden's because both of these translators took into consideration the structural elements of Pasternak's verse and kept their own imagination under control, treating the poems, to quote the poet, "*kak vsyakii fakt na vsyakom blanke.*" In dreams, one could imagine Vladimir Nabokov as the ideal translator of Pasternak, but, of course, he will never undertake the task for many reasons.

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YERSHOV, PETER. (Ed.) *Letters of Gorky and Andreev, 1899-1912.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1958. 200 pp. $4.50.

Andreev's early story "Bargamot and Garaska," published in 1898,

attracted Gorky's attention and prompted him to write Andreev a letter of encouragement and appreciation and to offer, "by right of seniority," some advice and help. Gorky was only two years older than Andreev, but already a prominent writer and an influential figure in the leftist circles of Russia's intelligentsia and publishing world.

Thus began a friendship which lasted a little over a decade. The evolution of this friendship is vividly reflected in this collection of letters. Most of them have never been published before and all are skillfully translated and painstakingly annotated by Lydia Weston. They make interesting, at times absorbing, reading.

Like Gorky's, Andreev's early stories were realistic sketches of life among the lower layers of society. Both protested against the oppression and exploitation of the downtrodden masses of the people. But Gorky translated his protest into deeds, into active support of the revolutionary movement, whereas Andreev became increasingly doubtful about the advisibility of a revolutionary upheaval as a path toward social justice and salvation of humanity.

As early as 1900 Gorky expresses his concern about Andreev's gloom and pessimism and writes: "Don't torment yourself; others will torment you." The same theme: "Don't weep, my child," "Don't fall into hyprochondria," continues in Gorky's letters of subsequent years, coupled with expressions of his, Gorky's zest for life: "It's a great pleasure to live on earth and I can't imagine a more splendid occupation." This was written in 1901; fourteen years had passed since Gorky's attempt at suicide.

And yet, utterances concerning differences in temperament and outlook of Gorky and Andreev are accidental. The bulk of the correspondence is devoted to literary matters, to critical comments and advice the two writers exchanged on their respective writings. In 1902 Gorky is moved to tell Andreev: "I have more experience . . . But you have more talent and intelligence."

Yet, the direction in which this talent and intelligence were driving Andreev, his painful and lonely search for answers to the eternal problems of life and death, good and evil, truth and lie, was one which Gorky was less and less capable of following or of understanding. Andreev's story "Darkness," written in 1907, draws Gorky's angry comment: "I almost roared when I read this *tar smooch.*" From then on the letters grow in length and bitterness and are followed by nearly two years of silence, between the end of 1909 and August, 1911. At this date Andreev resumes the correspondence with a long letter and an attempt to patch the breech with such statements as "As before, I have no friends, except for you." Gorky's answer is a renewed attack against Andreev's recent writings, particularly the story "Darkness" and against the current tendency among some Russian intellectuals "to gossip about eternity," "to waver from fanaticism to nihilism."

The rest of the correspondence, between 1911 and 1914 – eight letters written by Andreev from his Finland villa, and seven written by Gorky from the island of Capri, prove that the intellectual atmosphere in which the two writers lived at the time, was as diametrically opposed as the climate of their respective residences differed.

No student of Russian literature and of Russian intellectual life in the early twentieth century should miss this volume, which supplies valuable information about the personalities of the two writers and vividly documents the complexities of the period.

VALENTINE TSCHEBOTARIOFF BILL
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BIELY, ANDREI. *St. Petersburg.* Trans. with Intro. by John Cournos. Forward by G. Reavy. New York, Grove Press, 1959. 310 pp. $4.75.

The translation of this book into English and its publication are long overdue. It is an outstanding, masterly prose work of the Russian Symbolist movement, first published in 1912.

The novel's basic theme is the misunderstanding between father and son. The plot is complex and develops on different levels. The father symbolizes Western ideas, his son the confused aspirations of the 1905 revolution. The title is not accidental — St. Petersburg itself is a character in the book. References to Peter the Great's "window on Europe," symbolized by the famous monument of him on a rearing horse, recur throughout the book.

St. Petersburg's rectilinear, geometrical avenues and perspectives, dear to father Ableukhov, are contrasted with the dark waters of the Neva where the son often hovers. The waters suggest the seething, gray, conspiratorial masses, hateful to the father, and represent the confusion of the Asiatic rebellion. The son, is carried unwillingly on this current. The action of the novel occupies, in time, about two days and has the atmosphere of a nightmare. The story begins with the ticking of a time bomb and ends with an explosion. The lives of all the protagonists pass to the accompaniment of the relentless ticking.

The book has extraordinarily vivid descriptions of St. Petersburg, its eighteenth and early nineteenth century architecture, its granite keys and atmospheric changes. It is remarkable as a plain suspense novel. Above all it is notable for its originality of style.

Biely broke with the tradition of the nineteenth century novel. His symbolic treatment of characters, his impersonal, ironical presentation conveyed mostly through description of concrete details, his use of the "internal dialogue" — are radical departures from the traditional realistic fiction. His style is nervous, evocative, highly condensed, and is patterned on a musical composition. The different musical themes constantly recur and evoke the music of scenes already familiar to the reader.

Although simplified for the sake of clarity, the translation is excellent. Symbolist prose is difficult to translate: every carefully chosen word suggests an image, whose equivalent is not always present in another language.

BASIL PETROV
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TIMOSHENKO, STEPHEN P. *Engineering Education in Russia.* New York, McGraw Hill, 1959. 47 pp. $2.75.

In July, 1956, before the general and somewhat hysterical concern over determining the relative standing of engineering education in this

country, as compared with that of Russia, Professor Timoshenko contributed to *The Russian Review* an article on the subject, "The Development of Engineering Education in Russia," July, 1956. The author of this book, Professor Emeritus of Theoretical and Applied Mechanics at Stanford University, is one of the world's leading engineering scientists, who also had a part in shaping the destinies of engineering education in pre-revolutionary Russia. Subsequently, he returned to the country of his birth and visited engineering schools where he had formerly taught and made a general assessment of what had happened to engineering education in Russia and where it now stands.

Thus the contribution made by Professor Timoshenko's book is the fact that only a person with his unique background and experience could produce in such a concise, simple, and readable form an appraisal of the complex and baffling questions the answers to which are sought by many leading educators in this country.

This booklet provides specific information on hours of instruction per week in the pre-engineering schools, admission requirements, curricula, and methods of teaching. Comparing the Soviet and the American systems, Professor Timoshenko observes: "I have no doubt that our engineering education can be put on the same level as it is in Russia and Western Europe, but only if stronger requirements in the teaching of such fundamental subjects as mathematics, mechanics, and physics are introduced. The Russian schools pay more attention to design work, and, by introducing diploma projects, they try to prepare their graduates for actual design. American schools give very little attention to their students in that field."

Contrary to the exaggerated views held by some regarding the superiority of Soviet education, Professor Timoshenko concludes: "My impression is that, in general, Russia has returned very nearly to the educational system which existed before the Communist revolution."

Probably the most significant changes and the most challenging developments of the post-revolutionary era are described by the author in the chapter on graduate work in Soviet research institutes. Engineering scientists are of necessity the leaders of this field and the attention which we shall give to this question may well determine the relative progress of the United States and Russia in the years to come.

If read by those who guide the destinies of engineering education in the United States, this book will make a permanent contribution of inestimable value to the field in which Professor Timoshenko has been for so long not only a scientist of first magnitude but above all "a beloved and inspiring teacher."

Alexis R. Wiren
New York City

Book Notices

BACKUS, OSWALD P. *Motives of West Russian Nobles in Deserting Lithuania for Muscovy, 1377-1514.* Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1957. 174 pp. $5.00.

Professor O. P. Backus' book will certainly attract the attention of historians not merely as a study in medieval frontier problems and the Russian aristocracy's moods but also as an important contribution to an elucidation of the earliest stage of Muscovite expansion toward the West. As a matter of fact, in the period 1377-1504 a tremendous territory, stretching from Tula to the Dnieper and from the southernmost confines of the former Pskov republic to the northern boundaries of the Kievan *voevodstvo,* passed rather unnoticeably and without great armed conflict from the hands of the Vilno princes into the domain of the Moscow rulers.. The author proves very convincingly that it was not as much Muscovite armed deeds as the voluntary defection of the Lithuanian-Russian aristocracy which was the main cause of the decisive landslide in Eastern Europe which completely changed the western Muscovite border and put to an end Lithuanian aggressiveness in the East. According to the author's conclusions, three main causes contributed to this rather peaceful Muscovite victory: the Russian feudal lords' dissatisfaction with the growing Lithuanian centralization; the steady, often tactless, pressure of Polish and Lithuanian Catholicism; and, finally, the dissensions and frustrations of local nobles.

Based on primary sources, supplied with excellent new maps and an exhaustive bibliography, this new work will certainly contribute to the understanding of Russian territorial and foreign policies in the late Middle Ages.

S.A.Z.

HOUGH, RICHARD. *The Fleet That Had to Die.* New York, Viking Press, 1958. 212 pp. $3.95.

Richard Hough has retold in a vivid and appropriately humorous style the unbelievable tale of the eight-month voyage of the Russian Baltic Fleet from Kronstadt to its waiting grave in the waters off Tsu Shima, the island of the Donkey's Ears.

There is nothing here unfamiliar to students of Russian or Japanese history. The author has not gone beyond the printed works readily available in English. But Mr. Hough is not writing for scholars. He has written a thoroughly delightful story for laymen of perhaps the most humiliating naval defeat of modern times. If "this book is not primarily concerned with history" as Mr. Hough insists it is not, it will do more to awaken an interest in the study of history than many of the pompous works whose authors are less modest in their claims.

M.C.W.

KULSKI, W. W. *The Soviet Regime.* Third Ed., Syracuse, N. Y., Syracuse University Press, 1959. 524 pp. $8.00.

In the present volume Professor Kulski of the international relations faculty at Syracuse University has thoroughly revised and updated his treatise on the Soviet political and legal structure which first appeared in 1954 (reviewed by George Guins in *The Russian Review,* July, 1955). New material incorporating developments from 1953 to 1958 has been added to the main topical presentation, which has otherwise been heavily abridged by Dr. D. G. Kousoulas. A new conclusion judiciously assesses the changes since Stalin and evaluates the recent educational and legal reforms. Several sections of the earlier edition, dealing with cultural and ideological developments between World War II and Stalin's death, have been omitted altogether, and a great deal of detail and illustrative material has been cut out of the remainder of the book. With a reduction of length of nearly forty per cent from the first edition. *The Soviet Regime* is much more adaptable to text use, though it is correspondingly less valuable as a reference.

Professor Kulski's basic approach remains unchanged. His work is a static analysis, encyclopedic in treatment but limited in approach, dealing chiefly with the legal structure of Soviet society. He approaches each area of Soviet life — the party, culture, labor, agriculture, social services — in terms of the laws, regulations, and duties which apply to it. This much he treats carefully, but the flow of events, and the substance of what the Russians have actually accomplished in such fields as education and industrial development, are never systematically presented. A piecemeal legalistic analysis such as this has its value — for example, Professor Kulski makes the fundamentally anti-egalitarian nature of Soviet society very clear — but in this book the whole does not equal the sum of the parts.

R.V.D.

KLYUCHEVSKY, VASILI. *Peter the Great.* Trans. by Lilian Archibald. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1958. 282 pp. $6.75.

This is a new translation of the larger part of Volume IV of Kluchevsky's *History of Russia.* The only existing complete English translation of this famous work by C. J. Hogarth is rather inept, difficult to read and, moreover, is out of print. Lilian Archibald's new translation is superior to Hogarth's; it is accurate and clear. The volume has copious footnotes, a glossary, index, and a map. The omission of chapter XI of the *History* dealing with popular legends about Peter the Great and social conditions during his reign, is unfortunate, even though the volume may gain in unity and compactness by this omission. It is to be hoped that the entire History will, before long, be re-translated.

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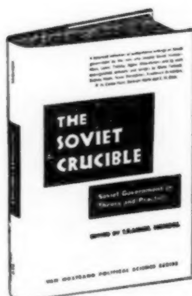

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